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ABSTRACT

This publication is designed to help students prepare for participation in Model United Nations activities. A Model U.N. conference simulates the activities of a United Nations body, usually the Security Council or the General Assembly and its committees. Participants assume the roles of representatives of Member States to the United Nations (U.N.) and consider items from the U.N. System's agenda. Organized into five chapters, the guide's first chapter provides background information on the United Nations and the nature of multilateral diplomacy. The second chapter contains information about preparing for a Model U.N. conference. The third chapter, which comprises much of the book, is designed to introduce the reader to the major issues and problems faced by six regions of the world--Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and North America. Chapter four contains the voting records and selected resolutions of the 46th General Assembly. Finally, chapter five contains items for reference: an annotated bibliography, the Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice, and the Permanent Missions to the United Nations. (DB)

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A guide to delegate preparation

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1992–93

A guide to delegate preparation

James P. Muldoon, Jr.
Editor

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of the United States of America
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Preface

Not since the founding of the United Nations has the world body been in such great demand on so many global concerns. Its ability to handle the myriad problems which have come about since the dissolution of the Soviet Union is being watched closely by governments and the peoples of our world. The decisions made at the U.N. and successful implementation of these decisions are critical to our future. In the final analysis, both the successes and failures of the U.N. will be with all of us for decades to come.

Young men and women around the world owe it to themselves to take an active part in the affairs of our planet. You and your peers cannot afford to leave the future solely in the hands of today's diplomats, politicians and national leaders. You should and can contribute to your future simply by being interested and involved. The major global issues of today like the environment, development, human rights, peace and security are matters that you too can address. Your views and opinions do count, but will only be heeded if you learn about these problems, think about them, and then speak about them. The Model United Nations is your vehicle for developing your thoughts and ideas for solving global problems.

This publication and the others in the *Model U.N. Survival Kit* are written for the express purpose of assisting you to prepare for the learning experience of the Model United Nations. The 1992–93 edition of the *Guide to Delegate Preparation* is the work of several hard working and dedicated interns. Those listed as contributors at the back of this book are the young people with whom I have spent months putting together this publication. Their extensive research and exploration of our complex world has produced an excellent analysis of the different geographical regions for Model U.N. preparation. It is due to their work that this publication remains so useful to the tens of thousands of students who participate in Model U.N. conferences around the world.

As with all publications, there are many others who need to be thanked. I am particularly thankful for the assistance of five summer interns—Daniel Mollura, Glenn Guzi, Sandra Strasser, Mickey Gupta, and Fiona Middleweek. These enthusiastic and conscientious students spent countless hours on the book. I also need to thank the many wonderful people of several Permanent Missions to the United Nations who took time out of their busy schedules to review and comment on early drafts of parts of this edition. My sincere appreciation goes to Kathleen Tinkel at Tinkel Design for her extraordinary patience and superb talents which she gave to this important publication. Finally, I cannot thank enough my colleagues here at UNA-USA: Carol Christian, Jim Olson and Christine Pascarella for their interest and support. To all these very special people and those I may have unintentionally omitted, I am forever indebted.

James P. Muldoon, Jr.
August 1992

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INTRODUCTION

The Model U.N. experience—an overview

What is a Model United Nations conference (Model U.N.)? A Model U.N. simulates the activities of a United Nations body, usually the Security Council or the General Assembly and its committees. Participants assume the roles of representatives of Member States to the U.N. and consider items from the U.N. system's vast agenda. Through role-playing, you can gain greater understanding of global issues and the complexities of the international system.

Model U.N.s range in size from 15 students in a single classroom, simulating the Security Council, to thousands of students in a convention hotel, covering the full range of U.N. activities. Over 100 major Model U.N.s are held annually around the world. (For information on where and when Model U.N. conferences are held throughout the year, consult UNA-USA's annual *Calendar of Model U.N. Conferences.)*

There are well over 60,000 people who participate in one or more Model U.N. conferences or events each year. This expanding group of Model U.N.ers includes junior high, high school, college and graduate students, teachers and professors, and adults all of whom are eager to discover the how decisions are made, how multilateral diplomacy works, and how the U.N. operates. The Model U.N.'s expansion into Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America during the past three years is an exciting development that will benefit all Model U.N. participants. Today, young people on almost every continent have an oppo8rtunity to learn together about each other and about themselves through several Model U.N. conferences. The "internationalization" of the Model U.N. is still in its early stages and in need of further development. But, the enthusiasm for the Program in new places each year suggests that a rapid expansion of the Model U.N. world-wide is well under way.

The Model U.N. is not an "elite" activity for only young people with demonstrated leadership abilities. There is room for anyone who seeks a better understanding of the world and how they as human beings fit into it. The many demands on a delegation at the U.N. requires a range of expertise, skills and abilities. There is needs for leaders and followers, negotiators and debaters, writers and spokespersons, experts and diplomats, and much more. It should be clear that there are many types of people who can and should be a part of a delegation participating in a Model U.N. and that each person on the delegation is important to the success of the group. In fact, diversity of any delegation is one of the most important highlights of the Model U.N. experience.

On the individual level, the Model U.N. experience often varies considerably. Whether you are new to the Program or have several years of experience, the Model U.N. is always an exciting and fresh challenge. It is common for Model U.N.ers to participate over several years (from as early as the 6th grade to well beyond graduation from graduate school) and in a multitude of settings, deepening their understanding of the complexities of people, cultures, world views, and international politics. It is probably safe to say that the Model U.N. is the most concrete and effective international educational experiences you will ever encounter.

The Model U.N. experience is educational, but it's also a fun activity. The old saying: "you get out of it what you put into it," is all too true in regards to the Model U.N. experience. The more time and effort given to Model U.N. preparation, the more valuable the simulation becomes. Unfortunately, no one can force you to put more time into preparation. Indeed, faculty advisors and Model U.N. programs will encounter those who will try to do the minimum and not take the Model U.N. preparation process seriously. Yet, this problem is often isolated to only a few individuals on a delegation. Model U.N.s demand nothing less than excellence, if the experience is to be meaningful. Ultimately, the Model U.N. will demonstrate how much fun it is to learn and how important education is to your future.

One of the first orders of business is to form a delegation. Then, you and your colleagues should register to attend a Model U.N. conference and request a country assignment. To decide on what conference to attend you may want to contact several conferences and request all the information about the conference. Having an idea which countries you can best prepare to role-play will facilitate the process of registering for one or more Model U.N. conferences. Once an application or registration form has been submitted to the Model U.N. conference organizers, an assignment is made. Which country the delegation is assigned by the Model U.N. Secretariat and the number of bodies your assigned country sits in will determine both the size and complexity of your delegation.

The Model U.N. experience is intrinsically linked to a number of factors-foremost being sound preparation. This Guide is only a starting point. Any

Model U.N. delegate would be making a mistake to depend solely on the information in this book as the basis for role-playing the "ambassador" of a U.N. Member State. The Model U.N. Survival Kit is not the only authority on the issues before the United Nations. It is suggested that you seek materials from authoritative sources on the specific topics of the Model U.N. conference(s) in which you are participating. Included in this edition are helpful leads to useful sources that should be consulted for further research.

This edition of the Guide is divided into five parts. The first section reviews the U.N. system and explains multilateral diplomacy and negotiations. The second section gives details on how to prepare for a Model U.N. conference. (Some conferences require specific preparations so it is wise to request information directly from the conference secretariat.) There are some suggestions for and explanations of the more common methods for preparation.

The third section, "How Nations Interact," is devoted to the various ways nation-states work (or don't work) with each other regionally and internationally. It is organized on a geographical basis, consisting of brief outlines of the political agendas for U.N. Member States in the context of their geographical region. After digesting these analyses, you should have a better sense of how your assigned country interacts with other members of the United Nations and the direction of foreign policy for the region. Also, you should realize that there are several international forums that nations use in forwarding their foreign policy objectives, and that these intergovernmental frameworks have some connection with the United Nations system.

Complementary to the above, the fourth section of the *Guide* concentrates on the voting patterns and resolutions of the 46th General Assembly. Not only is this section designed to be used during the Model U.N. conference itself, but it, too, provides a voting chart on select resolutions to help you understand the voting behavior of U.N. Member States on selected issues during the most recent G.A. session. It should be noted, however, that many of the resolutions in the General Assembly are adopted without a vote (meaning consensus) and that votes are taken only when there is sensitivity on the issue by one or more members. One word of caution, this section is to be read as historical information and not as the way a nation should vote in a Model U.N. conference. It is especially important to understand that a simple word change or phrase may have made the resolution reproduced in this section acceptable to those who either abstained or voted in the negative. Therefore, the voting pattern is not set in stone for these issues and you should carefully scrutinize the wording of a resolution to determine how to vote.

The final section—"References"—includes very important information for finding more information to use in preparation. "United Nations issues:

An annotated bibliography" is an extensive bibliography on the general issues before the United Nations. Once again, this list of books is not complete or comprehensive. The sources in this section are simply good places to start for more in-depth research that must be done to be properly prepared. In addition, the multitude of topics of the Model U.N. conferences throughout the world precludes greater specificity in the bibliography. Most conferences provide some background on their agenda topics to assist delegates in their research.

In this edition, we have reproduced the complete Charter of the United Nations and Statutes of the International Court of Justice in the reference section. In previous *Model U.N. Survival Kits,* the U.N. Charter was a separate pocket-size booklet. We hope that having it between the covers of this *Guide* will make this publication even more useful as the primary reference for your preparation. Finally, the addresses and telephone numbers of the Member States' Missions to the United Nations are given.

You are now ready to begin your journey into the world of diplomats and international politics. This book and its companion publications in the *Model U.N. Survival Kit* will help you on your journey to keep your eyes on a straight and fruitful path. With this *Guide,* you should better find your way to international cooperation and peace.

CHAPTER 1

The United Nations and multilateral diplomacy

The United Nations system

The United Nations is an international organization whose membership consists of governments. It has six principal organs – the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat. In addition, the United Nations system includes thirteen specialized agencies that focus on social, cultural, economic, health, educational and other humanitarian fields. The United Nations system was established in 1945 after the Second World War when the Charter was ratified by the five permanent members of the Security Council (China, France, United Kingdom, United States and the USSR) and the remaining 46 signatory governments. The membership of the organization has increased significantly over the years. Today there are 178 member states. As an intergovernmental system, the U.N. forms an international community to address global issues and problems.

The primary purposes of the United Nations are to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to foster international cooperation for solving international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems; to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends. When governments sign and ratify the Charter of the United Nations, they declare that they will abide by the provisions and obligations outlined in the Charter. In effect, they promise the international community to fulfill these obligations and duties through peaceful means.

The Charter of the United Nations establishes the principles and diplomatic rules for the post World War II era. It provides a level playing field for intergovernmental negotiations and the manner by which consensus on global issues can be fairly and honestly achieved. The U.N. validated the priority of diplomacy over the use of force in international affairs. Diplomacy is the heart of the United Nations. It is the currency of governments when they discuss or debate the issues at the United Nations. Through diplomacy, the decisions of the United Nations are made and the common ends of the international community are determined.

The United Nations has been called by many people the world's "Town Hall". In fact, it is an international diplomatic conference permanently in session. For good or ill, the United Nations is the only organization of its kind with a near impossible mandate – "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". The U.N. stands as the only continuous experiment to coalesce the most diverse group of nations ever assembled.

The nature of multilateral diplomacy

Diplomacy is the means by which nation-states, through authorized agents, maintain mutual relations, communicate with each other, and carry out political and legal transactions. Like a business relationship, diplomatic transactions depend upon trust between governments and even more so between the ambassadors (the authorized agents) of governments. From the beginning of the nation-state system, diplomacy in its purest sense was practiced to pursue the national interests of the nation-state and often to limit the potential armed conflict between states. The development of international or multilateral diplomacy coincides with the evolution of the nation-state system. Relations among nation-states had been predominantly bilateral (between two nations). As the relations among nations grew more complex, the development of multilateral arrangements and structures emerged. Diplomacy has therefore become more complex in recent years, with multilateral diplomacy increasingly central to the work of nation-states.

Today, there is great deal of overlap between bilateral and multilateral diplomatic activities. The relations among nation-states constantly involve an intricate weave of bilateral concerns within multilateral contexts and vice versa. With the cost of warfare and armed conflict ever increasing, governments have come to rely more and more on their diplomatic resources to avert any possible outbreak of inter-state disputes. Of course, there are recent exceptions to the increasing use of diplomacy like Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait. But the incredible cost of the Gulf War has reinforced the recognition among governments of the importance of multilateral and bilateral diplomacy in sustaining a peaceful world order.

Diplomatic relations between governments in the multilateral arena encompass all aspects of human activity – politics, economics, law, security, values, language, culture, art, religion, etc. Since the end of World War II, diplomacy has become more formalized and more institutionalized particularly through the framework of the United Nations.

There are two basic elements of multilateral diplomacy: the positions which countries take on issues and the process by which an agreement on these issues is reached. The interplay between these elements is the dynamic nature of diplomatic activity at the United Nations. Multilateral diplomacy is like an elaborate spider's web, as one country pushes in one direction, often there are several countries pulling in another or opposite direction. When trying to build consensus in a multilateral setting, diplomats have to constantly adjust to the ongoing process of negotiations. The process compels each country in the U.N. to find common ground amidst competing and conflicting national interests. Through discussion, negotiation, and compromise, an international consensus does emerge. While consensus is the fundamental objective of the United Nations, the complexity of interests and views makes it extremely difficult to achieve consensus in many areas. The divergence of national positions and the incredible number of agenda items are the primary reasons why consensus often takes years to achieve.

Multilateral negotiations

Multilateral negotiation is one of the most exciting activities at the United Nations. Negotiations are always a fascinating process where diplomats adjust positions endlessly according to the changing environment. They may use posturing to gain maximum position or may wait until just before the deadline for an agreement before introducing fantastic demands. Diplomats are pressured to make concessions while promoting their national positions. At the same time, they work to prevent negotiations from turning against their national interests. Preventing things from getting worse is important, as an extra few years spent in regaining lost ground can be politcally and financially costly. When negotiating, strategy and timing are very important.

In the book, "The Practical Negotiator",authors Zartman and Berman outline three stages which negotiations take. In the Diagnostic Stage, the future participants in a negotiation agree that there is an issue which should be addressed in a negotiation and that all are better off with an agreement than without one. In the United Nations, this stage is largely complete since U.N. member states come to the meetings ready to start negotiations. The Formula Stage is the stage at which the framework for an agreement is reached or an agreement is reached on the general principles, leaving the details to be worked out at a later time. In many cases, the negotiations at the U.N. are left at the Formula Stage with the adoption of a declaration or a resolution which articulates the fundamental principles. Yet, once diplomats are convinced that a more detailed agreement is possible, they proceed to the Detail Stage of the negotiation by putting together specific and discreet items of an agreement. This stage may involve a fair amount of bluffing by diplomats and extreme care is taken to make sure that other diplomats stick to their previous commitments. In this stage points are usually exchanged and concessions on issues of little value to a diplomat, but of great importance to another, are made in exchange for concessions on other issues from other diplomats which are of importance to the diplomats foreign policy goals.

The Formulation and Detail Stages are not separated by a clear point, where one passes to the other. If a final detailed agreement cannot be reached, it is always possible to return to the discussion of general principles in order to reach an agreement satisfactory to all diplomats. In the process of negotiation it is important to work within a scale of progress, both positive and negative. Although diplomats concentrate on moving forward in negotiations, it is equally important not to move backward.

The United Nations diplomat

The relations between governments within the United Nations are entrusted to diplomats. The process is still practiced by individuals empowered by their respective states and conducted in face-to-face encounters. In our world of high-tech communications, it is fascinating that diplomacy is still practiced in this manner.

Ambassador Elliot L. Richardson once commented that the modern diplomat needs to know "how to listen, to persuade, and to sense when to step back and when to push for an agreement." An ambassador assigned to the United Nations has a formidable task. He or she must keep on top of a very broad agenda; gather pertinent information which is of interest and importance to the foreign ministry; promote the country's interests on multiple issues; make public statements and speeches in U.N. meetings; and negotiate with other ambassadors on resolutions and amendments. They are never free agents to make decisions as they see fit. Rather, they are expected to follow the instructions and dictates of their government's policies. They are always conscious of the important role and function they play as an emissary of their country to the world community.

Because the foreign ministry will rarely grant its representatives at the United Nations carte blanche to make decisions, all delegates at the U.N. have an obligation to meet the political objectives of their foreign ministry even if they personally disagree with them. Diplomats must work within the guidelines provided by their foreign ministry, with whom they must maintain continual correspondence. The foreign ministry relies on its diplomats both to keep it informed about developments on important issues and to capitalize on opportunities.

The diplomat is, at the same time, a contributor to the on-going process of foreign policy development. Just as much as the ministry's representative is to follow instructions, he or she has an obligation to recommend or urge changes in the instructions when the situation warrants it. Ultimately, the decision rests with the foreign ministry, but the input and judgement of the diplomat "on the front line" carries considerable weight in the often fluid diplomatic process at the United Nations.

Because of the immense agenda at the United Nations, governments send teams of diplomats to cover the meetings during the regular session of the United Nations General Assembly, Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. In addition, all countries have set up "permanent missions" to the United Nations in New York and Geneva that are staffed with ambassadors and other technical personnel year-round to cover the meetings and negotiations that are going on between the sessions of the principal organs. The delegation of a country is expected to speak with one voice and be consistent in the explanation of their government's policies and interests at the United Nations. Therefore, teamwork among the members of a delegation is essential. Even if a diplomat does not personally respect a colleague, he or she is expected to work with them.

A diplomat at the U.N. has a multi-faceted role. The diplomat's duties include: (1) working out mutually agreeable solutions with other diplomats in a complex multinational arena; (2) finding the best possible means of achieving the instructions of their foreign ministries and presenting the foreign policy of their governments; (3) keeping their foreign ministry abreast of important developments at the United Nations and submitting recommendations and suggestions for initiatives or changes in policies or positions when circumstances suggest such initiatives and changes are both expedient or necessary; and (4) promoting understanding and stability among the members of the international community in spite of tensions and constant political change.

U.N. diplomats perform their duties at the U.N. through regular and intense communication and contact with other delegates. The exchange of information allows diplomats to parade their interests in the hope of finding endorsement by others. Cliques abound and caucuses emerge as the political landscape at the United Nations changes according to current political realities. Information and knowledge are the most important tools and weapons in the hands of a diplomat. And the most influential diplomats are recognized for their particular talents in communication, analysis and judgement.

Information gathering constitutes an important part of a diplomat's daily routine. All diplomats analyze the atmosphere at the U.N., where they frequently encounter new trends and developments in the multilateral sphere. They provide their foreign ministries with information that facilitates the formulation of foreign policy, and in turn utilize this same information to pursue new opportunities in their efforts to achieve national objectives. Accurately analyzing, interpreting, and predicting trends entails some expertise in the substance of the issues at the United Nations and a certain amount of intuition. Even the most intuitive diplomats, however, are severely crippled unless they have some ability to judge the political implications of their analysis. Also, they must have an exceptional knowledge of the institutions and fora of the U.N. and the political realities outside of the United Nations to be successful.

Effective diplomats spend considerable time preparing for the arduous work they face at the U.N. The milieu of a U.N. diplomat involves a complex mixture of issues and personalities and involves constantly adjusting to the fast pace of the U.N. diplomatic scene. U.N. diplomats need to know who the major players are on an issue, and to find opportunities to influence or become involved with those "calling the shots".

When a diplomat's government decides to take the intiative or assume leadership on an issue, he or she is expected to know where contentions lie and with whom to discuss the matter. Of course, the most important people to negotiate with are individuals the diplomat thinks can deliver votes or exert influence on a given resolution or issue. Therefore, networking is an essential part of a U.N. diplomat's professional life. If a diplomat does not have the skills to build networks and relationships, he or she will find it very difficult and sometimes impossible to effectively realize his or her government's instructions and foreign policy objectives.

Obviously, no one can be everywhere and do everything at once, so knowing where and when to sacrifice attention is essential. An experienced diplomat compensates by structuring relationships within the mission, the delegation, or the caucus groups so that others can fill the gaps. By organizing appropriate combinations of different complementary personalities, a diplomat can create synergistic outcomes. Yet, it is difficult to attain such outcomes unless one has some insight into human nature and considerable international experience to know what works and what does not.

U.N. diplomacy in action

To contend in the rich environment of multilateral diplomacy, U.N. diplomats have to understand the myriad personalities which create the dynamic processes at the United Nations. U.N. diplomats must tolerate diversity in their day to day routine because the United Nations involves so many countries. In the meetings and negotiations, each diplomat brings individual human experiences that are bound within philosophical, ideological, national and cultural contexts. The broader the experience, the more a diplomat can contribute to the negotiations and better appreciate the contributions of others.

Delegates at the U.N. learn to recognize the limitations of the personalities they are working with. Every negotiation involves egos, emotions, feelings, deep-rooted values, different backgrounds and conflicting viewpoints. Therefore, the process of negotiations always contains an element of unpredictability.

Many seasoned diplomats give extra weight to psychological factors in their negotiations and diplomatic strategies. The best diplomats easily discern what will influence and compel others to take actions they would not otherwise take. This is not to say that a diplomat needs to have a degree in psychology, but being able to judge another person's character is an important skill if a diplomat wants to persuade or influence others during a discussion or negotiation.

Mature diplomats always strive to separate their personal feelings from the process and the issue, yet even these professionals are inclined to invest emotional convictions into their work. Sometimes the emotional investment will be positive and can actually obtain a psychological commitment from others to reaching a solution. However, it can also be negative because a diplomat may cling to irrational beliefs or stubborn positions. Misunderstandings that arise reinforce prejudice and are counterproductive. To compound the problem, the multilateral diplomatic process always includes several languages which invites difficulties in definitions and misinterpretation.

Diplomats curtail misunderstandings through precise and coherent communication. Communication is the essence of diplomacy. A post at the U.N. demands the ability to communicate not only publicly in the General Assembly, but more importantly, the ability to communicate informally on an individual basis. After all, most of the work on resolutions at the U.N. is done in informal consultations. Resolutions merely establish national positions on the record and embody the formal result of what was accomplished outside the General Assembly Hall.

Delegates at the U.N. have numerous ways of communicating their government's positions, ideas and proposals to the rest of the international community. Of course, making statements and speeches in a meeting is what most people see or read about in the press. These speeches are carefully prepared with specific objectives in mind. As it is a public forum, effective diplomats often state their government's thoughts or intentions on an issue that is either directed towards their domestic constituency or a foreign audience or both. The overriding factor when crafting a public speech is the fact that it is "on the record" and is often analyzed by both the press and other governments. In these situations, the more effective orators can accomplish an even greater result – persuasion. Eloquence and the command of language not only present a government's policies well, but can build confidence among the other delegates in the speaker's credibility and position on an issue.

Diplomats complement their public remarks with written communications such as diplomatic notes, communiques and letters. Much of this communication is bound in protocol and standardized styles. Titles, salutations and format are carefully and strictly followed. Written communications are particularly important in diplomacy because they are official documents that governments are held accountable to in their relations with other nations.

Informal communication between parties helps alleviate apprehensions and suspicions, while a good sense of humor can help ease tensions. Governments can be more productive in their negotiations if the process is not in the public eye. Experience has clearly demonstrated that the informal approach at the U.N. permits governments to be more flexible in their bargaining which facilitates the consensus-building process. Conflicting positions, for instance, might be explained over a drink for the sake of achieving trust. Yet, it is very important to know that the function of receptions, cocktail and dinner parties, or even a chat in a bar is to facilitate diplomatic communications, not to get intoxicated. In fact, most diplomats rarely drink to excess because they are still formally representing their governments at social engagements. More importantly, if a diplomat loses control or his or her judgement is impaired from alcohol, he or she actually becomes a risk to their country's national security and will, undoubtedly, miss crucial diplomatic opportunities. Social functions are often more work than play for diplomats.

The key to successful diplomatic activity is trust in the process and in those with whom the diplomat is negotiating. Without mutual trust, diplomats will be hesitant to share their interests or listen to one another. The perception that a diplomat lies for his or her country is false. However, it is widely understood that political factors (particularly matters related to "national security") may call for the withholding of information. Nonetheless, diplomats not only expect, but depend upon the accuracy and authenticity of information or messages pertinent to their negotiations or discussions. Ultimately, trust is the cause and effect of long-term working relationships at the U.N.

Longevity of relationships among diplomats at the U.N. plays an important role in the way the United Nations functions. In order to establish long-term relationships, diplomats must be personable, trustworthy and approachable. In fact, personal integrity is one of the most valued characteristics of any diplomat and is an essential ingredient to a fruitful working relationship at the United Nations.

Also, diplomats seek consistency in their relationships to retain credibility. Consistency is not always easy to achieve if the foreign ministry decides to unilaterally change the national position on issues or concerns. In addition, the negotiation process at the United Nations is designed to bring about changes in national positions so consensus-building can occur. Therefore, consistency pertains more to the approach of a government in negotiations than to their steadfastness on a particular position or policy.

The process of consensus-building involves a lot of bargaining so that the interests of all countries at the U.N. are minimally met in agreements. For better or worse, reciprocity motivates decisions and is a major criterion on which most relationships and agreements at the U.N. are based. Frequently, the relationships between countries (and in some cases the diplomats) will outweigh the outcome of any particular issue. In negotiations, for instance, diplomats will often accede to an unfavorable decision on one issue so that they might obtain leverage on another current or future concern. The logrolling of issues is a predominant activity at the U.N.

The U.N. rules of procedure prescribe how diplomacy is conducted at the United Nations. These rules are particularly important in the United Nations setting because they facilitate the participation of all governments, on equal footing, in the dynamic multilateral diplomatic activity. The rules determine who may address the Assembly and when, the powers and functions of the elected officers, and how decisions can be taken or postponed. They regulate behavior to ensure civil discourse among governments, while facilitating the deliberations towards an agreement.

In the final analysis, all U.N. diplomats strive to advance or protect their national interests, while fostering a consensus amidst a vast array of conflicting and competing positions and views. Although it may take many years to find common ground, diplomatic success is best measured by the actions of governments that conform with recommendations and decisions made at the United Nations. The United Nations and those who represent the member states would be redundant if governments ignore the multilateral system when confronting international concerns and problems in the world. The prospects for a "New World Order" emerging by the time the 21st century commences will rely, in great part, on the relevance and capabilities of the United Nations and its diplomats.

CHAPTER 2

Preparing for a Model U.N. conference

Successful participation in a Model U.N. conference requires good preparation. Preparing to participate in a Model U.N., you must learn about diplomacy, about the issues on the agenda of the Model U.N. conference, about the policies of your assigned country concerning these issues, and about the organization and rules of procedure of the Model U.N. you are attending. Lack of knowledge in any one of these areas can significantly reduce your ability to participate fully in a Model U.N. conference. Finding information is often a challenging task in its own right. This book is the first step in the search for information. Unfortunately, no one book can provide all the information you will need, but after reading this chapter, you should have a better idea of what you need to do and know to effectively role-play a country at a Model U.N. conference.

Getting ready for a Model U.N.

Organization

Forming or joining a delegation is one of the most important steps for you to make. The organizational structure for a delegation should coincide with the number of bodies of the U.N. system the Model U.N. conference will be simulating. A delegation representing a major power at a large Model U.N. conference will be more complex in organization than a delegation representing a country with more limited interests. The more comprehensive the Model U.N. and the larger the delegation, the more important it is to have the delegation well organized. Good organization helps not only with the actions of the delegation during the Model U.N., but also with the preparation. If the delegation is well organized, preparation tasks can be more easily shared. It is essential for each member of the delegation to know their particular role in the delegation's organization and how they contribute to the diplomatic strategy of the delegation during the Model U.N. conference. It will improve the ability of the whole delegation to pursue the foreign policy goals of your "government."

Typically, one member of the delegation serves as Head Delegate (in the United Nations, the title is Permanent Representative). This individual is usually responsible for organizing and monitoring the delegation's preparation for the Model U.N. The function of a Head Delegate may vary from conference to conference, but for any delegation the Head Delegate plays an important role. The Head Delegate is the ultimate voice of authority for the delegation and should be perceived as the personal envoy or representative of his/her "government." Members of the delegation should make a point of deferring important issues and negotiations critical to national interests to the Head Delegate and demand that negotiations on such matters be conducted only among Head Delegates. By making the Head Delegate the "ultimate authority" for the delegation, the delegation will remain focused on the strategic interests of the country at the conference and will avoid rash judgements or contradictory decisions which are embarrassing. Of course, a small delegation will find it rather easier to be more cohesive and unified because the chain of command is shorter and the structure less bureaucratic.

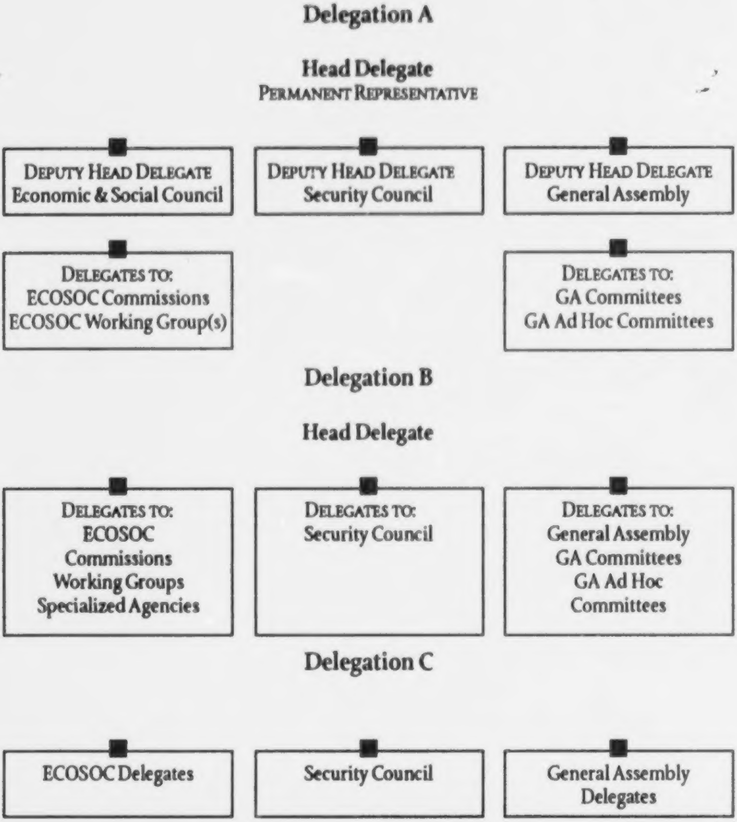
There is no "one way" to organize a delegation. Presented here are three organizational schemes (see the Delegate Organization chart), ranging from highly structured to loosely structured arrangements. No matter how the delegation is organized, your success will depend on the willingness of you and your colleagues to work together as a team toward the common goal of representing your assigned country effectively.

Delegation A is a highly structured organizational scheme with well-defined lines of authority and channels of communication. Each member of the delegation is assigned a title or position (e.g. Head Delegate, Deputy Head Delegate, or Delegate). These positions or titles, in turn, define the role each member of the delegation plays during the Model U.N. and the work each has when preparing.

Delegation B represents a middle ground between Delegation A and Delegation C. It calls for a leadership role for one or more members of the delegation and a collegial relationship between the other members on the delegation.

Delegation C is the least structured of the three schemes, calling for a collegial relationship among the members of the delegation. The lines of commu-

Delegate organization


Delegation A
Head Delegate
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
DEPUTY HEAD DELEGATE Economic & Social Council
DEPUTY HEAD DELEGATE Security Council
DEPUTY HEAD DELEGATE General Assembly
DELEGATES TO: ECOSOC Commissions ECOSOC Working Group(s)
DELEGATES TO: GA Committees GA Ad Hoc Committees
Delegation B
Head Delegate
DELEGATES TO: ECOSOC Commissions Working Groups Specialized Agencies
DELEGATES TO: Security Council
DELEGATES TO: General Assembly GA Committees GA Ad Hoc Committees
Delegation C
ECOSOC Delegates
Security Council
General Assembly Delegates

nication and authority are not formally defined. Everyone on the delegation participates equally in the preparation for the Model U.N. and enjoys equal status during the conference. This may appear to be the easiest way to get organized, but there are many difficulties associated with this scheme, especially when used in a large conference that is spread out in several rooms and that has many complex issues on the agenda. In delegations of two to four people, Delegation C can work, but beyond this size the margin for error and mistakes increases considerably.

Of course, it is possible to have many variations on these three schemes. Remember, an organizational structure is only as successful as a delegation's commitment to it. In any case, a delegation requires teamwork and a willingness to recognize and utilize each member's strengths. Members of a delegation must share information and learn from each other. Each person's role within the delegation should be clearly defined. All must understand that they are members of a team, not "free agents" who can unilaterally make decisions for the delegation.

Doing research

Ideally, the delegation will have ample time to prepare for a Model U.N. conference. There are three areas that need to be researched before a delegation can effectively participate in a conference: The United Nations' structure and functions, the country you are going to role-play, and the policies and positions of your assigned country on the issues that are on the Model U.N.'s agenda. Good preparation requires considerable research to develop a strategy on the Model U.N. agenda for the delegation.

You should begin your research with the United Nations. It is important for you to know the history, activities and institutional context of the U.N. body you will be covering. There are several publications on the United Nations, including Basic Facts About the United Nations, Everyone's United Nations, and the annual Yearbook of the United Nations. You may find it difficult to get information about the lesser-known organs and agencies of the U.N. In this instance, you should look into the issues dealt with by that organ, rather than its name. This approach should lead you to the information you need.

The reason you should begin with a study of the United Nations is so you will become familiar with the U.N. structure and environment. If it is not clear to you what has been accomplished by the U.N. and how the U.N. functions or deals with the global issues and problems, it is easy to get confused and flustered, and subsequently embarrass yourself and your colleagues during the meetings. Knowing the U.N. system will actually help you to focus the other delegates on the interests of your country and limit the potential for straying from the agenda to extraneous or irrelevant matters.

The second research area concentrates on your assigned country. You should begin by looking into the nation's history, culture, economy, geography, and foreign relations. Basic information about your country is easily found in reference materials such as yearbooks, encyclopedias, and almanacs. Also, you should be able to find several books about your assigned country. Newspapers and magazines are good sources of information. Some of the more useful newspapers are The New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and the Miami Herald. Magazines to consult include U.S. News & World Report, Newsweek, Time, The Economist, Far Eastern Economic Review, World Press Review, and the Manchester Guardian. Scholarly journals like Current History, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, and World Policy are a wealth of information. Finally, English-language publications from your assigned country are worth locating, because they allow you to look at issues and events through the eyes of the people of the country. Your aim is to understand a country from the point of view of a native of that country. In other words, to strip away your national and cultural biases and assume the outlook a person who was born and raised in the assigned country. The closer you can identify with a native or as a person from that country, the better you will play your role as that nation's diplomat.

Finally, you should investigate the topics on the agenda of the Model U.N. An understanding of the national, regional and global dimensions of each topic is very important. In particular, you should understand your assigned country's position on the agenda and its reasons for adopting that position. A good starting point for research in this area is the annual Issues Before the General Assembly (provided in the Model U.N. Survival Kit). However, you must not stop here as more research on the topics will be needed. Your assigned country's positions on the issues can be gleaned from many of the newspapers, magazines and journals discussed above. One of the best sources of information about your assigned country is its Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York. Although many countries' missions are very busy (and many may not be able to provide documents in English), they are generally responsive to requests for information from Model U.N. students. The most important thing to remember is to contact the Mission early and be specific about what you want to know.

This research should provide you with an increased understanding of the cultural, social and historical reasons for a country's position at the U.N. and its foreign policy. When reading about international affairs you will encounter many new terms and familiar terms in new contexts. Concepts such as collective security, peace keeping, arbitration, mediation, adjudication, and national sovereignty are found throughout the literature about international relations. Good definitions and explanations of these concepts are found in most general textbooks about international relations. (The annotated bibliography in this publication has some excellent sources.) Most public libraries and all college and university libraries have such books in their collections. Taking the time to understand these terms and knowing how and when to use them will help you be a more effective delegate.

Preparing position papers and a negotiating strategy

After you and the other members of the delegation have gathered as much information as possible, the process of synthesizing and organizing the data begins. You and your colleagues may find it easier to make sense out of all the data gathered when researching by preparing position papers that define each topic on the agenda and each topic's relationship to your country's national interests and foreign policy goals. The process of writing position papers often reveals areas where more research is needed and will help you and the delegation plan a diplomatic strategy for the conference. A suggested position paper outline is below.

A. **Background of agenda item in the United Nations**
   1. Main elements of the problem
   2. General positions of importance on the issue (e.g , positions of major blocs, other nations, experts on the subject, etc.)
   3. Action taken on the issue (e.g., U.N. Resolutions adopted, Secretariat reports or studies, and referrals to other bodies or specialized agencies)

B. **Justification of your country's position and summary**
   1. Main reasons supporting your country's point of view or position
   2. Strongest reasons in opposition to your position and your strongest points of rebuttal
   3. Draft resolution or amendment(s) your country might propose.

As each member of the delegation prepares one or more position paper, it should become obvious that not all of the issues on the agenda are important to your government's foreign policy. Also, you will notice that there are linkages between issues on the agenda. The position papers will be most useful as summaries of each issue by which the delegation can prioritize and develop a general national position for the entire conference. With an overall delegation position, you and your colleagues will be more strategically focused on the most important matters during negotiations and debates at the conference.

The delegation must have a negotiating strategy figured out, if you hope to succeed at the Model United Nations. Since not every issue or item on the agenda is important to your assigned country's national interests, the delegation should concentrate on your country's priorities on the agenda. A strategy should focus the full resources of the delegation on the most important priorities and include contingency plans. A negotiating strategy will involve several elements:

1) the national priorities for the delegation;

2) issues on the agenda which fit the national priorities and realistic objectives on these issues;

3) linkages between issues that are priorities and those that are not;

4) member states with similar priorities;

5) member states with different or opposing priorities;

6) member states that are in-between;

7) the degree of flexibility in your position on priorities (e.g. How urgent is the issue for your country? What is the minimum and maximum you can accept in resolutions or proposals on the issue?);

8) which Committees, Councils, and/or other U.N. Bodies provide the most promising and the most difficult environments for conducting negotiations on your priority issues;

9) who on the delegation will assume responsibility for negotiating on priority issues and in which bodies;

10) established procedure for key negotiators to report on progress of negotiations to the whole delegation and to receive amended instructions for the negotiations from the Head Delegate.

Your research and analysis should enable you to develop a "game plan" for the conference. Of course, you must remember that at the Model U.N. conference not everything you have planned will actually occur. In fact, you can count on much of your plan being modified and adjusted because of personalities, the environment, and the pace of the conference. Building as much flexibility as possible into your negotiating strategy will enable you to quickly and effectively respond to conference conditions. Although you will not be able to anticipate every situation, you would be wise to think through as many scenarios as possible before going into the conference. Your goal is neither to beat your opponents nor to stand alone. Rather you and your colleagues should seek to protect your national interests while generating consensus for solutions or actions that will benefit your government's position.

To reach your diplomatic objectives, you need to know what tools are available within the delegation. The basic tools of a diplomat include: Information and Analysis, Language Skills, Listening Skills, and Judgement. In addition, the most successful diplomats also have character, integrity and precision. However, no one has all of these tools nor can they employ them simultaneously. For this reason, it is essential that you and your colleagues implement your negotiating strategy as a team, working together to combine your different strengths.

Resolution writing

Since most of the business of Model U.N. is conducted through resolutions, the ability to write a resolution is essential for active participation. Resolutions and amendments are the basis of substantive debate and negotiation. A resolution is prepared by an individual nation or by a group of nations. Once a resolution is passed it is the official policy of the body that passed it. In writing a resolution, keep in mind the specific capabilities of the body being simulated.

While most resolutions state policy, some may include an entire treaty, declaration, or convention. Resolutions can be either general statements or directives to specific organizations, U.N. bodies, or states. They can condemn actions of states, call for collective actions, or, as in the case of the Security Council, require economic or military sanctions.

Each resolution is a single sentence, with the different sections separated by semi-colons and commas. The subject of the sentence is the organ making the statement such as the General Assembly, Economic and Social Council, and the Security Council. The remainder of the resolution is divided into two parts: preambulatory and operative clauses. The preambulatory clauses are justifications for actions. They usually begin with a participle and denote Charter authorization for actions, past resolutions precedent, and statements about particular purposes for the action. Operative clauses are the policy portion of the resolution. Each of these starts with the verb, and taken as a whole, deals with one idea arranged in logical progression. Each clause should not be a collection of unrelated statements on a broad topic, but should deal with only one aspect of the problem.

The Model U.N. conference in action: Testing your diplomatic skills

When the Model U.N. conference begins, the first moments are often confusing and chaotic, even for the most experienced Model U.N. delegates. However, you should soon be able to make sense out of the confusion. Personality conflicts and inadequate information about the assigned country and about the issues on the agenda are common problems.

You must work with the information available and never be afraid to ask for help. Many Model U.N.s provide a resource center, often called "Home Government," from which a delegate can obtain additional information.

Also, the faculty advisor is often a good source of information.

Remember that you are an ambassador, a person who represents your assigned country's government. You must strive to suppress your cultural outlook and adopt the cultural, historical, social, and world views of your assigned country. At the conference, you are expected to communicate, negotiate, debate, and the use the rules of procedure as the diplomats at the real U.N. would. Communicating Diplomatically Diplomatic communications require sensitivity. Your job as a diplomat involves effective communications with other governments through messages, discussions and proposals. The

Phrases for introducing resolutions

Preambulatory phrases

- Affirming
- Alarmed by
- Approving
- Aware of
- Believing
- Bearing in mind
- Confident
- Contemplating
- Convinced
- Declaring
- Deeply concerned
- Deeply conscious
- Deeply convinced
- Deeply disturbed
- Deeply regretting
- Desiring
- Emphasizing
- Expecting
- Expressing its appreciation
- Expressing its satisfaction
- Fulfilling
- Fully aware
- Fully alarmed
- Fully believing
- Further deploring
- Further recalling
- Guided by
- Having adopted
- Having considered
- Having considered further
- Having devoted attention
- Having examined
- Having studied
- Having heard
- Having received
- Keeping in mind
- Noting with regret
- Noting with satisfaction
- Noting with deep concern
- Noting further
- Noting with approval
- Observing
- Realizing
- Reaffirming
- Recalling
- Recognizing
- Referring
- Seeking
- Taking into account
- Taking into consideration
- Taking note
- Viewing with appreciation
- Welcoming

Operative phrases

- Accepts
- Affirms
- Approves
- Authorizes
- Calls
- Calls upon
- Condemns
- Congratulates
- Confirms
- Considers
- Declares accordingly
- Deplores
- Draws the attention
- Designates
- Emphasizes
- Encourages
- Endorses
- Expresses its appreciation
- Expresses its hope
- Further invites
- Further proclaims
- Further reminds
- Further recommends
- Further resolves
- Further requests
- Have resolved
- Notes
- Proclaims
- Reaffirms
- Recommends
- Reminds
- Regrets
- Requests
- Solemnly affirms
- Strongly condemns
- Supports
- Trusts
- Takes note of
- Transmits
- Urges

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Sample Resolution

Organ ☛

The General Assembly,

Preambulatory clauses

Recalling its resolution 22/18 k of 24 January 1979 and 34/931 l of 12 December 1979, as well as Economic and Social Council resolution 1980/50 of 23 July 1980,

Use a comma to separate Preambulatory Clauses ☛

Reaffirming once again the special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement,

Noting the great advance of the movement against *apartheid* and for national liberation and the rise in political consciousness of the oppressed people of South Africa,

Underline initiating phrases ☛

Condemning the violence and repression by the *apartheid* regime against all opponents of *apartheid*,

Indent 5 spaces ☛

Recognizing the need for increased humanitarian and educational assistance to the oppressed people of south Africa, as well as direct assistance to the liberation movements in their legitimate struggle,

Operative clauses

1. Appeals to all States to provide humanitarian, educational, financial and other necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement;

Number operative clauses ☛

2. Urges the United Nations Development Programme and other agencies within the United Nations system to expand their assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, in consultation with the Special Committee Against *Apartheid;*

Use a semi-colon to separate operative clauses ☛

3. Urges all agencies within the United Nations system to ensure the participation of the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity in their relevant conferences and meetings, and to provide financial assistance for that purpose;

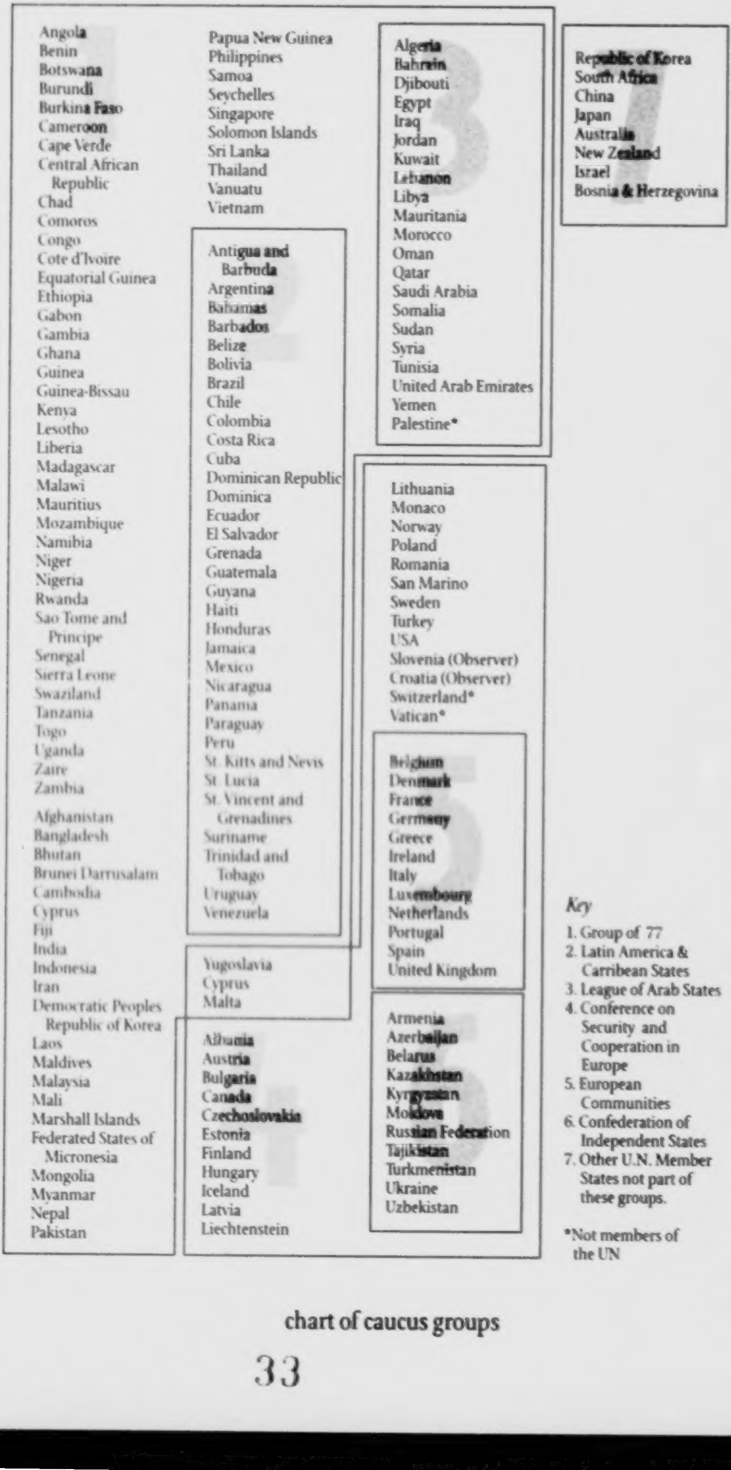
4. Decides to continue the authorization of adequate financial provisions in that budget of the United Nations to enable the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity—the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania—to maintain offices in New York in order to participate effectively in the deliberations of the Special Committee and other appropriate bodies.

Use a period to end resolution ☛

appropriate use of language is essential, as a word or phrase can mean the difference between success and failure. Therefore, you must be precise in all of your communications. Written communication is usually very formal and follows strict protocol, because it is an official document and ultimately can be used by other governments during negotiations. On the other hand, informal discussions during a caucus or at social events offers an opportunity for you to discover some of the underlying reasons for other governments' actions or positions. Informal communication often prepares the way for agreements between or among nations on resolutions or amendments.

Model U.N. debates

There are basically two forms of debate at a Model U.N.—Substantive and Procedural. Substantive debate takes place constantly at a Model U.N. Delegates either register their interest to address the body by adding their name to a "speakers list" or raise their hand to be recognized by the Chair. At some conferences delegates can make opening remarks about a topic during "General Debate." For this type of debate, speeches or interventions (a statement or rebuttal) can be prepared in advance and practiced before the conference. But inevitably the debate will require interventions by you which are extemporaneous (with little or no preparation). There is usually just enough time to outline the arguments to be made. Extensive knowledge of the topic is essential, especially if it is of great national interest. This is also the time when the research that was done prior to the conference will be most handy. You should know the facts and arguments that oppose your country's position, as well as those arguments that support it. Some tips for being prepared include: preparing before the conference a position paper covering the country's position on the issues on the agenda, preparing an outline or synopsis on each topic, and preparing a fact sheet on other countries' positions on the topics. Debate about procedural issues must deal only with procedure. In this case, a procedural motion has been made and their are certain required interventions before completing the procedure. An intervention on a procedural matter must stay within the limits of the procedure being proposed or considered. Although, talented diplomats often can stay within the rules and make substantive contributions to the debate. Procedural interventions are very useful and can be fashioned to the substantive ends of a delegation. You will better know how to properly use the procedural debate if the rules of procedure are studied and mastered before coming to the conference. By completely understanding the limitations of the procedural debate, it is easier to use this form of debate to the delegation's advantage.



Angola
Benin
Botswana
Burundi
Burkina Faso
Cameroon
Cape Verde
Central African Republic
Chad
Comoros
Congo
Cote d'Ivoire
Equatorial Guinea
Ethiopia
Gabon
Gambia
Ghana
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Kenya
Lesotho
Liberia
Madagascar
Malawi
Mauritius
Mozambique
Namibia
Niger
Nigeria
Rwanda
Sao Tome and Principe
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Swaziland
Tanzania
Togo
Uganda
Zaire
Zambia

Afghanistan
Bangladesh
Bhutan
Brunei Darrusalam
Cambodia
Cyprus
Fiji
India
Indonesia
Iran
Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea
Laos
Maldives
Malaysia
Mali
Marshall Islands
Federated States of Micronesia
Mongolia
Myanmar
Nepal
Pakistan
Papua New Guinea
Philippines
Samoa
Seychelles
Singapore
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Sri Lanka
Thailand
Vanuatu
Vietnam

Antigua and Barbuda
Argentina
Bahamas
Barbados
Belize
Bolivia
Brazil
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Dominican Republic
Dominica
Ecuador
El Salvador
Grenada
Guatemala
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Jamaica
Mexico
Nicaragua
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
St. Kitts and Nevis
St. Lucia
St. Vincent and Grenadines
Suriname
Trinidad and Tobago
Uruguay
Venezuela

Yugoslavia
Cyprus
Malta

Albania
Austria
Bulgaria
Canada
Czechoslovakia
Estonia
Finland
Hungary
Iceland
Latvia
Liechtenstein

Algeria
Bahrain
Djibouti
Egypt
Iraq
Jordan
Kuwait
Lebanon
Libya
Mauritania
Morocco
Oman
Qatar
Saudi Arabia
Somalia
Sudan
Syria
Tunisia
United Arab Emirates
Yemen
Palestine*

Lithuania
Monaco
Norway
Poland
Romania
San Marino
Sweden
Turkey
USA
Slovenia (Observer)
Croatia (Observer)
Switzerland*
Vatican*

Belgium
Denmark
France
Germany
Greece
Ireland
Italy
Luxembourg
Netherlands
Portugal
Spain
United Kingdom

Armenia
Azerbaijan
Belarus
Kazakhstan
Kyrgyzstan
Moldova
Russian Federation
Tajikistan
Turkmenistan
Ukraine
Uzbekistan

Republic of Korea
South Africa
China
Japan
Australia
New Zealand
Israel
Bosnia & Herzegovina

Key

1. Group of 77
2. Latin America & Carribean States
3. League of Arab States
4. Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
5. European Communities
6. Confederation of Independent States
7. Other U.N. Member States not part of these groups.

*Not members of the UN

chart of caucus groups

Caucus groups and blocs

Most of the action at a Model U.N. conference is in organized caucus groups or "blocs," which meet informally during the conference and usually outside of the committee room. These informal sessions are sometimes called "bloc meetings." These groups are one of the most important, but least understood, aspects of the United Nations' General Assembly. The purpose of member states forming caucus groups is to use the United Nations both as a forum for expressing official opinions and as an instrument for protecting their own national interests. As these goals cannot be achieved with all nations pulling in the direction of individual national interests, it is necessary to organize countries with common interests in order to exert a greater amount of political influence within the General Assembly. Caucus groups are the result. Simply stated, caucus groups represent nothing more than the aggregation of interests of member states on various issues. The history of caucus groups at the United Nations is an interesting one. The necessity of caucus groups was not formally established until 1957 when the General Assembly passed a resolution "endorsing the representative principle" of the aggregation of interest of five regional groups: Latin American, Asian, African, Eastern European, and Western and other. The chairman for each of these regional groups rotates among the members on a monthly basis. Besides these regional groups there are several other negotiating groups which operate at the United Nations. The more organized are: the "Group of 77" with a membership of 125 countries, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) with a membership 101 countries, the European Communities with a membership of 12 countries which is chaired by a different member state every six months, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Association of the SouthEast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the G-7 or Economic Summit Countries. However, caucus groups are neither political parties nor decision-making groups. Rather, they are a means of consultation and communication among nations sharing common interests. Seldom is absolute agreement reached within any caucus group. Because caucus groups are composed of sovereign nations there exists little power within the caucus group to force the will of the majority upon the minority. Having these groups at a Model U.N. is natural and inevitable. Some Model U.N.s organize countries into formal caucus groups. At others, no attempt is made to organize these groups. Instead, the delegates form groups whose members change from issue to issue. No matter how the groups are formed, there is one purpose that these groups come together for – to negotiate. Unlike the more publicized methods of negotiation between the two superpowers on arms control or the negotiations about international finance between the seven Economic Summit Countries, negotiations at the U.N. are more complex because in most cases the negotiations involve over 170 countries. Therefore, the process of negotiation is as important as the item or issue under consideration.

Negotiating at the conference

Negotiation experts cannot claim one method superior to all others. U.N. Diplomats, however, realize through experience that certain strategies are more efficient than others. So, you and your colleagues should expect to encounter situations which may require a combination of or significant changes in strategies during the Model United Nations. When you start negotiating you should have a thorough understanding of the interests and positions of other governments on the matter being negotiated. Frequently, delegates are so engrossed in persuading each other to accept their particularly point of view that they fail to listen to the views of others. Listening is an essential aspect of negotiation. You cannot create arguments for your own position without understanding the positions of other governments. You should try to put yourself in the shoes of your counterparts to understand their interests so you can judge how much you might achieve out of a negotiated agreement. Acknowledging the concerns of the other parties is crucial to any agreement and you will find it very difficult to reach consensus in a negotiation if you fail to take into account the interests of all sides. Often we pay too little attention to ways of advancing our case by assuaging the interests of the other parties in the conference. If you are patient and listen carefully, you gain greater depth in your understanding of the positions and interests of other countries and blocs and the changes which have occurred in these positions. Time and time again you will encounter intransigence from one or more delegates during your negotiations. It is possible that progress toward finding a common solution to a problem may never be made. Yet, agreeing to disagree at a Model U.N. is just as important as reaching common ground for a solution, acknowledging that there may not be a viable solution to a problem at present is ofttimes progress. Nonetheless, the most important thing for you to keep in mind is your position vis-a-vis your allies and other groups. When trying to build consensus in a multilateral setting, you and your colleagues will have to constantly adjust to the ongoing process. For example, one change in a working paper or a phrase in a resolution means that all who had previously consented to it would go back to their foreign ministries for approval. In a Model U.N., you are not able to consult your foreign ministry, but you can establish procedures within the delegation whereby the national position on an issue can be modified or clarified during the conference. In addition, you must know when and if to compromise. Compromise plays a significant role in multilateral diplomacy. With over 170 nations involved, the decision-making process takes a lot of time and can often be enmeshed in a battle for concessions from each nation. Since the Model U.N. conference lasts only a few days, many decisions will naturally focus on general principles. Your job in negotiations will include judging if your government can or should agree to specific

recommendations on a problem. If you judge that your government cannot or should not agree to such specifics, then you will need to decide what course of action you will take to respond to the situation. In order to be effective in a Model U.N. negotiation, you must always have in front your foreign policy objectives and the methods and tools you have to reach them. Some of your most important tools are your colleagues. Having a partner or a small team of the delegation involved in each of the priority negotiations will improve your chance for success in this complex process. Because Model U.N. negotiations involve several individuals and groups, a coordinated team can do more than any one person. For example, while you are working on the member states in your regional group, another colleague could be sounding out the regional group most likely to support your interests, while still another colleague could be talking to a select number of countries that are major powers on the issue. Also, you will find that a negotiating team will have a considerable range of talents and expertise that will help realize your country's diplomatic goals.

Rules of procedure

Every Model U.N. has a set of rules, often called rules of procedure, that govern the procedures used by a Model U.N. to conduct its business. Effective participation in the conference requires mastery of these rules. Because each Model U.N. conference usually has its own set of rules and these rules often are very different from Robert's Rules of Order, it is wise to always secure the rules of procedure far in advance of attending a conference. Then there is time to master them. Some of the more common aspects of Model U.N. rules of procedure include:

- **Procedural Motions.** Actions of the body that determine how a topic is discussed and how resolutions are decided by the body. Common Procedural Motions (in order of precedence) include:
  1. To Suspend the Meeting/Session
  2. To Adjourn the Meeting/Session
  3. To Adjourn Debate on an item (to "table" a resolution or item)
  4. To Close Debate on an item, resolution, amendment

5. Time Limit on speeches
6. To Reconsider an item, resolution, amendment
7. Point of Order

- **Substantive Motions.** Actions of the body in the form of resolutions, amendments, or decisions. Common Substantive Motions include:
  1. To consider a Resolution
  2. To consider an Amendment
  3. Interventions made by delegates on 1. and 2. (e.g. speeches, statements, etc.)

- **Rules About Voting include:**
  1. The order in which recorded votes are taken (in English Alphabetical order)
  2. The number of votes required for adoption of resolutions or amendments (a simple majority = 50% + 1 of the members present and voting or Two-Thirds Majority)
  3. Division of the Question (taking each section of a resolution or amendment and voting separately on each)
  4. A non-recorded vote or a hand vote (a show of hands or raising of placard to determine the result of a vote)
  5. The order of amendments to be voted on when multiple amendments to a resolution are permitted (usually the body is required to begin with the amendment furthest removed from the substance of the resolution and handle them consecutively until all the amendments have been dealt with).

CHAPTER 3

How nations interact: Regional perspectives

Introduction

Interdependence has transformed our world in every conceivable way. The actions of any one state now affect every other country almost instantaneously. There are external and internal forces which shape and mold the policies and relationships of every country. Whether these forces are natural disasters like drought and hurricanes or human crises such as war and civil conflict, the community of nations is affected by it all. As representatives of U.N. member states, you will need to have a grasp of these diverse factors in order to effectively address the issues on the Model U.N.'s agenda.

To facilitate your preparations, this chapter is designed to introduce you to the major issues, problems and responses for six regions of the world. Each section looks at the geography, regional organizations, and political and economic influences at play in and around a region. The analyses are purposely broad and general since it is impossible to go into greater depth for so many countries. In addition, the focus is on situations and problems that are currently before the countries in a region.

This chapter attempts to define the priorities of different regions at the United Nations. However, you should not rely solely on these analyses for the role-playing you will be doing in a Model U.N. Specific and detailed research about the country you will represent and that country's positions and policies on the issues on the Model U.N.'s agenda must be done. This chapter gives you a taste of the priorities and relationships that exist for regions of our world. It is suggested that you read all the regional perspectives before proceeding to the more in-depth research on your assigned country.

CHAPTER 3

Africa

The African continent is one of the most intriguing and problematic regions in the modern world. Political conflicts and underdevelopment are two major problems facing the continent. The diverse nature of the area makes a comprehensive study extremely difficult; after all there are 52 states in Africa (53 if we include Western Sahara). Thus, it is best to divide the continent into its four major groupings – North Africa, East Africa, West and Central Africa, and Southern Africa. These geographical distinctions are not the only ones which may be used in defining the area, but they are helpful in demonstrating the similarities that exist among some states in a region marked by diversity and conflict.

Geography

The North African region is commonly defined to include only those five states directly across the top of the African continent, the Maghreb states (including: Algeria, Morocco, Libya and Tunisia), Egypt, and the contested Western Sahara. It is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Red Sea to the east, the Mediterranean Sea to the north and the expanding Sahara Desert to the south.

The East African region, with its nine states, is identified as the area along the eastern coast of the African continent from Sudan in the north to Tanzania in the south. It includes the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia and Sudan) and Central East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi). Because of the many lakes in the region, the largest being Lake Victoria, the area is also referred to as the title, "Africa of the Great Lakes."

The West and Central African region with twenty-four states extends along the western coast of the continent from Mauritania in the north, to Zaire in the south, continuing inward to Chad in the upper region and the Central African Republic in the lower region. West Africa can be divided into two regional subgroups: the Sudano-Sahelian states (Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Mauritania, Chad, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde) and the Guinean states (Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria). Central Africa consists of seven states: Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Gabon, Congo, Zaire, Equatorial Guinea, and off the west coast Sao Tome and Principe.

The Southern African region comprises the group of states clustered in the southern tip of the continent. It stretches from Angola on the Atlantic Ocean directly across Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to the Indian Ocean, in-

U.S.S.R.
FRANCE
SPAIN
TURKEY
MOROCCO
IRAQ
IRAN
ALGERIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
SAUDI ARABIA
MAURITANIA
MALI
NIGER
CHAD
SUDAN
NIGERIA
SOMALIA
ETHIOPIA
SAO TOME & PRINCIPE
KENYA
ZAIRE
TANZANIA
ANGOLA (Cabinda)
ANGOLA
MOZAMBIQUE
MADAGASCAR
NAMIBIA
SOUTH AFRICA

cluding the Seychelles, Mauritius, Comoros, and Madagascar. It encompasses Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho, South Africa, and Namibia.

Regional organizations

In order to deal with regional, economic and political problems, African states have created or joined a number of regional alliances and political organizations for the purpose of coordinating their efforts. Most sub-regional organizations were established at or after independence in the early 1960s.

All of the African states, apart from Morocco and South Africa are members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Morocco withdrew when Saharahwi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) was admitted as the indigenous government of Western Sahara. South Africa has never been a member. OAU was established in 1963 as a result of a search for unity among the emerging states of Africa and to battle with colonialism and racial discrimination. It has become the sounding board for African opinion at home and acts as a representative for African states abroad. The OAU has also increased its economic policy analysis and coordination capacity leading to, among others, the 1987 African Common Position on Africa's External Debt and to the preparation of the 1991 Treaty of the Establishment of the African Economic Community (AEC). The treaty's first goal is to strengthen the already existing economic communities, which all support increased cooperation in development and economic integration, and its final aim is to achieve an African Common Market before 2025. It is hoped that the AEC will enable Africa to tackle its economic problems and increase development. Economic integration would be highly advantageous for the member states and should be a priority at the regional and sub-regional level for economic survival.

Despite numerous similarities and great potential for cooperation, the idea of a Maghreb union was only achieved in 1989 with the formation of the Arab Maghreb Union(UMA). The UMA consists of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, and Libya. Although some of the institutions of the UMA are in place, there are many problems. The group cannot reach an agreement on important issues, such as a proposal for the free movement of capital between the states. Nevertheless, it seems that the members of the UMA have put aside some of their traditional differences, divergent interests and regional conflicts, in an honest attempt at cooperation. After two years of progress, the pace slowed down as the election crisis in Algeria and the Pan Am/Libya situation created regional instability. UMA hopes to establish a framework of cooperation with the West African Economic Community and other regional organizations.

The Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) (Angola, Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe), has made significant progress towards enabling trade expansion via tariff preference within the region. It has also actively promoted harmonization of customs procedures. A smaller organization in East Africa is the Economic Community of the Great Lake countries (Burundi, Rwanda, and Zaire).

In West Africa, the main regional economic organizations are the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)(Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote D'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo), established in 1975 to harmonize West African economic policies, and the rival Economic Community of West Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote D'Ivoire, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal), founded in 1974 in order to liberalize trade among member nations. There have been talks of establishing a common ECOWAS monetary unit to facilitate trade among members. ECOWAS is a regional economic community with experience of peace keeping operations when the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) intervened in Liberia, to prevent escalation of fighting and human suffering.

In Central Africa, the Central African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC) (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Guinea Equatorial, and Gabon), formed in October 1974, strives to create economic unity and free trade in the area. The Economic Community of Central African States (Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire, and Angola (observer)), was created to eliminate customs duties and restrictions and to work for a common market.

In Southern Africa, the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference, SADCC, was established in 1980 with the main objective of reducing the economic dependence of its member states on South Africa and others. Another aim was to increase development. The member states of SADCC are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. It has made considerable progress in coordinating transport and communication.

Other organizations with African members are the League of Arab States (Algeria, Djibouti, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, and Tunisia), and the Islamic Conference (Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, and Mozambique (observer).

To facilitate the flow of financial assistance and investment, a number of regional and international organizations have been joined and/or established by African states. On the international level all African states are members of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (also known as the World Bank) and most are members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). On the continental level, all African states with the exception of South Africa and SADR are members of the African Development Bank. On the regional level most states are members of one or more of the following: the East African Development Bank (EADB), the West African Development Bank, and the West African Clearing House. Other regional development institutes with African members and interests in Africa are the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, the Islamic Development Bank, the Arab Monetary Fund and the European Investment Bank.

Economic situation

The economic outlook for Africa is one of the continent's most pressing issues. After what was called the "Lost Decade for Africa" in the 1980s, Africa once again grapples with this problem. In the 46th General Assembly session the "New Agenda for Africa" with a time frame of 1992–2002 was adopted. This document is the continuation of the United Nations Programme for African Recovery and Development (UNPAAERD) that was adopted in 1986 to steer the African economies into recovery during the 1980s. In the evaluation of UNPAAERD, it was found that, the member states did not achieve the economic development expected although many of them went through the required economic structural changes such as cutting government spending, reducing agricultural subsidies, and setting up market oriented economies.

There are many reasons for this lack of success. It is claimed that the International community did not fulfil its promises, concerning aid and investment. Other major factors include the problems of debt, drought, the global economic climate, civil strife and poor economic performance. The civil wars in Ethiopia, Angola, Sudan and so forth, must first be resolved before these countries can properly address their economic problems. The economic growth, including the growth of agricultural production is less then population growth, making it increasingly difficult to provide for the population. Indeed, Africa is the only continent where economic production has declined consistently throughout the 1980s. Its agriculture depends on primitive technology and is virtually dependent on rain fall. Africa's industry is very small and has a narrow scope, mainly basic manufacturing which is totally dependent on imports.

Most African states have serious debt servicing problems, but this is far from being a continent-wide condition. The debt problems results from a combination of the fall in the prices of commodities, the rising costs of imports, the decline of export volumes, currency overvaluation, inadequate incentives, government policy errors, and the fundamentally weak structure of African economies.

Countries that have made clear that they cannot meet their interest payment have reached agreements with creditors to reschedule their debt. (Many are covered under the Toronto agreement for Least Developed Countries.) Unfortunately there has been no attempt to deal with the problem in its entirety. Little has been done for intermediate income countries and others that have sustained their interest payment obligations.

When a country chooses to observe the pay plan, it means concessions on the part of that country, as the pay plan directly takes away money needed for health programs, schooling and job creation schemes. The pay plan also takes away export earnings that could have gone to development and to buy the foreign inputs that could have helped the agriculture and industrial sectors work more efficiently. In this way the debt works as a restraint on development and keeps the economy in an underdeveloped condition. To go on honoring the obligations may inevitably lead to political instability.

The non-diversified economies of most African states illustrate their economic vulnerability. Concentration on primary products, such as food and natural resources, and the lack of diversification and technological growth create dependent economies which are highly susceptible to fluctuations in the world market. Variations in demand, price and availability of goods and services would not have a significant effect on a healthy diversified economy, because it would be able to absorb and counter losses with production in other areas. In an underdeveloped economy, however, there are no other sources of income available. As the African economies liberalize, they feel that they are subject to unreasonable tariffs on African products and subsidized international competition that damage their industries. Moreover, because of their debts to international lenders, these states export a large portion of their agricultural products in order to generate revenue for debt repayment. This exacerbates the famine in these countries forcing them to seek more aid and increasing their external debts.

Because of these conditions, most African governments are often unable to support their populations without considerable outside aid, whether from individual donor countries or international organizations, such as the IMF and the World Bank. The debt burden combined with the restructuring of the economies will worsen the situation before enhancing it. The question is whether African people and governments will survive. In the New Agenda, the African states pledged to continue to reform and improve domestic economic management. This included effective mobilization and utilization of domestic resources, promotion of cooperation and integration on a regional and sub-regional level, intensification of democratization process, stimulation of investment, protection of the environment, and consideration of the population factor more effectively in development programs. Other priorities for Africa include human development, especially for women, employment, increase in life expectancy, better nutrition, basic education and shelter.

To realize these priorities the New Agenda for Africa prescribes an average real growth rate of 6% GDP throughout the period of the Agenda. It asks for $30 billion in official development assistance (ODA) in 1992 to increase at a rate of 4% a year. It also asks for the establishment of a diversification fund and a durable solution to the debt problem, which would include further cancellation or reduction of ODA debt and additional relief for official bilateral debt. The New Agenda futher encourages the writing off or swapping of commercial debt. However, as the developed countries declined to enter into binding commitment to ensure the implementation of the New Agenda, the African states are concerned that they will be forgotten in the shadow of Eastern Europe and left with a crippling debt.

Nation state composition in the region

The yearning for democratic government among the states of Africa has been reflected in many actions and statements throughout the past year. The most notable of these is the institution of multi-party systems by many countries and the adoption of the OAU African Charter of Popular Participation in Development and Transformation.

The North African states share a number of similarities in their political systems. Most comprise a democratic republic, at least nominally, with executive power vested in a President. Usually, administrative power is carried out by a Cabinet or Council of Ministers. Algeria, Egypt, and Tunisia all form part of this group, with several variations on the main theme. Algeria, for example, has a newly created multi-party system with executive power vested in the President, but the government is run by a Prime Minister or Premier and his ministers. Tunisia, with the power vested in the President, preaches a multiparty system, although, the ruling party still controls the parliament, press and television making it difficult for opposition parties to compete. Morocco has a Cabinet and Prime Minister, although it is a constitutional monarchy with executive power highly centralized in the hands of King Hassan II, who also serves as commander in chief.

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamarihiya is the most sharply divergent governmental structure in North Africa. Formerly the United Kingdom of Libya, the state initially achieved independence as a monarchy under King Idris. A revolution in 1969 brought Colonel Muammar Qaddafi to the leadership of the new Libyan Arab Republic, where he set out on a path of militant Arab socialism. Qaddafi introduced his vision for the Libyan state with his famous Green Book in 1971, outlining a policy of Arab nationalism, Islamic socialism and populism for Libya's subsequent development. The Head of State is the Revolutionary Leader, currently Qaddafi, and executive power is exercised by a group of Secretaries.

The political history of East Africa is complex. It is a region torn by civil war and famine. Some countries have moved to the multi-party system, including Kenya in December 1991 and Tanzania in January 1992. Rwanda, although facing a civil war, is evolving towards a democratic system of government, and so is Burundi. In Uganda, the National Resistance Army (NRA) has promised to give way to a constitutional civilian government by the year 1995. In Ethiopia, the interim government has promised to hold national elections. The referendum on Eritrea's independence is scheduled to take place soon. In Sudan and Somalia, civil war continues. Violence may spread into Djibouti where up to now the one party rule by President Hassan Gouled Aptidon has balanced the interests of different Djibouti clans. Many conflicts in the East African region are due to long standing tribal feuds. These not only fire the ongoing conflicts but also, as in the case of Rwanda, Burundi, and Kenya, endanger evolution towards democracy.

In West and Central Africa, 19 out of 24 countries have largely democratic systems. The five exceptions are The Central African Republic, Burkina Faso, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, and Equatorial Guinea (where the military leader, Colonel Obiang banned political parties after the military coup in August 1979). Nevertheless, the area is by no means politically stable. Extensive opposition forces exist in most states, whether legal or underground, due to ethnic differences, religious disparities, territorial disagreements, and, in particular, political beliefs. Political instability is also evident from the attempted and successful military coups that continue to occur in the region. These include the military coup of August 1985 in Nigeria, the coup of December 1985 in Mauritania, the attempted coup of July 1985 in Guinea, the overthrow of the Liberian government in September 1990, the arrest of the President of Mali by the army in March 1991, and the military coup in Sierra Leone in 1992. Yet the outlook is not all bleak. In Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Benin, opposition leaders have won recent elections. Also in Senegal, the President in office won a free election and in Gabon, President Omar Bongo stayed in office thanks to an alliance with a smaller party. Gambia and Cameroon have also held elections. Other states in the region are still in the process of finding a peaceful path to democracy. This usually follows a particular pattern – dissolution of the ruling regime, imposition of an interim government or national conference, construction of a new constitution, and the elections. Guinea Bissau, Niger, Chad, Ghana, Mali and Mauritania are all in this process.

Two countries that have made efforts to foster a more open political participation are Togo and Congo. The armies in the two countries tried to oust the newly appointed prime ministers. But with the exception of some concessions to the armies, the process of democratization continues. Last year in Nigeria, General Ibrahim Babanginda lifted a five year ban on political parties and promised two party elections. Still, the reforms are limited, as General Babanginda created the parties that could run. (Although he promised that only a civilian can be elected president in 1992, many feel that the military will try to exert its power in the new civilian government.) In Zaire, President Mobutu Sese Seko eliminated a 20 year ban on political parties in July of 1990 with a new constitution. Yet the opposition parties that hoped to challenge and defeat the ruling Popular Revolutionary Movement (MPR) in the democratic elections scheduled for 1993, continued to be harassed. When President Mobuto did not succeed in splitting the opposition, he resorted to violence and suppressed the National Conference created by the opposition. In Liberia, ECOWAS' peacekeeping force will remain in place until there is complete disarmament of all factions and all leaders agree on the procedure and the date for elections. In Burkina Faso, opposition parties refused to take part in presidential elections, as Captain Blaise Compaore gave only 25 days notice. Thus, Captain Compaore was reelected. In Cote D'Ivoire, the Central African Republic and Equatorial Guinea, the leaders still hang on with no thought of reform.

In Southern Africa many states that were not previously democratic are evolving towards democracy. This is the case in South Africa where the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) is continuing. The political changes in South Africa also paved the way for the settlement of the disputes in Mozambique and Angola. Botswana is no longer the only country in the region that holds multiparty elections. The Seychelles and Mauritius also belong in this category. In Zambia, the 25-year rule of the authoritarian President Kenneth Kaunda ended in a peaceful vote won by the opposition leader Frederick Chiluba. In Namibia on February 16, 1990, Mr. Sam Nujoma, who had been elected President, took the oath of office, and thus an independent and democratic Namibia was created. In Madagascar, President Didier Ratisiraka, facing mass demonstrations, has accepted a coalition with opposing parties until elections are held which are scheduled for the end of this year. In Zimbabwe, general elections left the governing ZANU-DF with 116 out of 120 seats, but still the Central Committee decided to retain a multi-party system. The countries which could be labeled as least open for popular participation are Malawi, where recently the authoritarian Government led by President H. Kamuzu Banda has been severely criticized, the monarchies of Lesotho and Swaziland, and the Islamic Republic of Comoros.

As the African leaders came to realize that growth and sustainable development could only be a result of the full participation of people in matters that concern them, most did not lose time in reforming their countries' political structure. Yet there are still states that claim that the political structure they have is the best suited for their particular society. There are also states that have wanted to become democratic, but facing civil strife, have failed to do so. The rearrangement of the African nation state composition is far from complete and there are still difficulties ahead.

Regional politics

Northern Africa

The location of the North African states between the Mediterranean Sea and the Sahara Desert produces a unique effect on the focus of the region. Cut off from its southern neighbors by a vast expanse of uninhabitable and perilous desert, North Africa has maintained limited contact with these states and traditionally has been linked with the more accessible European states to the north. The Mediterranean has served as a vital link between the two regions, allowing a great deal of trade and cultural exchange. As a result, the states of North Africa have formed strong connections with Europe and the Middle East, assimilating the cultures to some extent and placing these regions on a convergent path of evolution. Another result of the inward focus caused by geography is the common culture, religion and history shared by many of the states in the region. Owing to the dominance of the Arab culture across North Africa, the region has maintained strong cultural and political relationships with the Arab states of the Middle East.

For the past few years, the Islamic Fundamentalist Movement has grown and worried the states of North Africa. The growth represents more a rejection of the failed policies, poor economic performance and high unemployment resulting from a large foreign debt and bad economic programs of the governments, than a strong endorsement of Islamic fundamentalism. Since a political victory of an Islamic Fundamentalist party would mean the implementation of Shariah, or Islamic law, which in some cases would mean a step back in the process of democratization and human rights, the current ruling parties have been justifiably reluctant to recognize such parties. Algeria, however, allowed the Islamic Salvation Front to participate in the electorial process. When Algeria was to hold its first free elections since it gained indepen-

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dence in 1962 from France on June 27, 1991, the election had to be cancelled. A state of emergency was imposed by President Chadli Bendjedid in reaction to violent demonstrations lead by the Islamic Salvation Front. Four days before a second try at the polls on 16 January, a second state of emergency was announced. After the imposition of the second state of emergency, the Islamic Salvation Front was banned. Algeria thus followed Tunisia's and Morocco's example to outlaw any Fundamentalist movement. In Egypt, however, the Muslim Brotherhood is allowed to participate in the largely powerless parliament. Nevertheless, the economic situation needs to improve if security, public order, stability, a better climate for political participation, and elections are to follow. Until then, Islam is going to be a force to be reckoned with inside the region.

The conflict over the territory of Western Sahara began in 1975, when Spain withdrew from the then Spanish Sahara, and Morocco and Mauritania agreed to partition the territory between themselves. This arrangement was met by indigenous opposition from the POLISARIO (Popular Front for the Liberation of Sequiet el Hamra and Rio de Oro), an Algerian-backed guerilla organization who advocated independence for the territory. Mauritania subsequently withdrew, but Morocco has continued to fight for the territory ever since. A peace plan proposed in 1983 by OAU, and subsequently adopted by the UN, called for a cease-fire and direct negotiations between all the warring parties. It also called for a referendum within the territory of Western Sahara giving the choice of unifying the territory with Morocco as a part of that state, or creating an independent state, the Saharahwi Arab Democratic Republic, the SADR. Although originally accepted by the various factions, this plan proved difficult to implement and fighting soon resumed. In 1984, the OAU admitted the indigenous government of the SADR as a state-member prejudging the result of the referendum. Morocco withdrew from the organization in protest and to this date has not rejoined. In June 1990, the Secretary-General of the U.N. published an implementation plan for organizing a referendum in Western Sahara. It also included the repatriation of Western Saharan refugees.

MINURSO, United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara, started its work on 6 September 1992. Its first objective, apart from supervising the cease fire, is identifing voters. Both POLISARO and Morocco recognize a census that the Spanish authorities carried out in 1974 and are presently updating it. The identification process was enlarged as Morocco came up with an additional list of voters. The justification for this, says Morocco, is that the census took no account for the nomads of the region. Until the identification process is compete, the referendum is postponed indefinitely.

Another border conflict in the region is the dispute between Libya and its southern neighbor, Chad. Disagreement is centered on the possession of a strip of land on the border between the two states. The Aouzou Strip, as it is known, is rich in iron ore and uranium deposits, making it extremely attractive to both sides. The territory originally belonged to Chad and is claimed by Libya through a non-ratified treaty formulated by the former British and French colonial powers. Presently, the dispute is handled in the International Court of Justice.

One other source of conflict in North Africa is the radical, somewhat maverick stance assumed by Libya in its foreign policy. Characterized by a strong commitment to Arab unity and to the destruction of the state of Israel, Libya's actions have disrupted relations between the respective North African states. Problems between Libya and the West have given Western countries a negative impression of the region. In 1973, Libya first asserted its controversial claim to control over the Gulf of Sidra. This action was provocative to the West and under the Reagan Administration, the U.S. repeatedly performed naval maneuvers in the area in order to contest Libya's claim. Libya asserted that U.S. ships were interfering in Libya's territorial waters. Further provoked by Libya's apparent support of and involvement in terrorism throughout the world, President Reagan took several retaliatory measures against the state. In 1986, he ordered that all Libyan government assets in U.S. banks be frozen, urged all Americans in Libya to leave, and conducted a strategic air strike against Libya. More recently, in January 1989, two American jets engaged in an in-flight battle with two Libyan fighters. This battle was an isolated incident however, and no significant military confrontation has taken place since.

Yet another concern of various nations of the United Nations is Libya's alleged construction of a chemical weapons production facility and an underground missile command center, outside Rabta. As this crisis unfolds, allegations of the involvement of West German companies in this construction have emerged. Libya denies all allegations, and welcomes international inspection of the facility at Rabta in a quid-pro-quo for similar inspection of chemical plants in other countries.

In December 1991, Libya arrested and took into custody two of its citizens suspected for the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, and announced its intention to prosecute them. Libya also asked the U.S. and the U.K. to submit all related evidence. Instead, the U.K. and the U.S. requested that Libya extradite the two men. This was due to the disbelief in the capabilities of the Libyan court system to prosecute them.

Under the Montreal Aircraft Sabotage Convention, the parties to a dispute (in this case Libya, the U.S. and the U.K.) are bound to either prosecute or extradite alleged terrorists. Since Libya's constitution does not allow for extradition without a treaty, Libya chose to try the two men. When the U.S. and the U.K. continued to push for extradition, Libya went to the International Court of Justice asking it to prevent the U.S. and the U.K. from forcing Libya to extradite the two men and to find that Libya indeed was fulfilling its obligations under the Montreal Convention. Meanwhile, a resolution requesting that Libya extradite the two men either to the U.S. or the U.K. was pushed through the Security Council. As Libya continued to refuse the extradition, a second resolution was passed in the Security Council imposing an arms and air embargo unless Libya complied by April 15. The resolution provoked riots in Libya outside the embassies of those who had voted for sanctions. Among some, like the Arab League, the sanctions were seen as inappropriate and too harsh.

The developments in the Libyan affair have left Arab countries and others in the region feeling very uncomfortable with the western powers' influence in the region. Although some might indeed agree to the basic reason and idea by which the western powers justify their presence in the region, the Arab states and northern African states would like to deal with the problems themselves.

East Africa

The political instability of the region, which has been extremely detrimental to its development process, has its roots in the ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity of its peoples. One after another these countries explode into clan and tribe feuds. They all seek to assure their position whether it is independence, power, or religious freedom. In Kenya, for example, the recent political uncertainty has worsened the tribal relationships and the country has had several violent tribal clashes, that renders the future uncertain. The economic situation for the east African countries is quite dark. Since internal strife hinders economic development, these must be resolved first.

Sudan is a prime example of a state where internal governmental opposition is promoting political, as well as, economic instability. Sudan has experienced internal strife dating from the 1950s. The main theme has been the conflict between one-third of the people who are Muslim in the north and who want imposition of the Shariah and two-thirds of the population who are black African Christians and Animists in the south who oppose the Shariah. The northern Islamic population has the overwhelming majority of the wealth and power, while the south is extremely poor. But it is also a conflict about racism, tribalism and regional differences.

Full civil war between the Sudanese government and Colonel Garang's Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) broke out in 1983 when the government, composed mainly of Muslims, attempted to impose the Shariah on the entire country. In June 1989, a coup deposed President Sadiq al Mahdi, and replaced him with a military government headed by Lieutenant-General Omar el Bashir. Bashir promised to open up a dialogue, declared a one-month cease fire, and offered amnesty to the rebels. Since then however, Bashir has banned all political parties, dissolved Parliament, closed independent newspapers, and again tried to impose the Shariah. The dialogue ended and Sudan was once again plunged into war. In August 1991, the SPLA broke into two factions. The break-away group, the Nasir faction, is lead by Commander Riek who accused Colonel Garang of being a dictator within the organization. According to some, the two factions fight even more vigorously against each other than against the regime. This is in large part due to the long animosity between Riek's Nuer tribe and Garang's Dinka people.

Since the break in the SPLA's ranks, the Nasir, who control 35% of Sudanese territory, have been fighting for an independent state from its base in the south. As this goes on there are around two million people fleeing the civil war not knowing who will protect them. There is concern about the eviction of Sudanese refugees from shelters around the capital by the government. These people were driven into areas where the means of survival do not exist. Relief efforts, mainly attempted by the U.N., have not been successful. If the government does not ban the relief efforts completely, the rebels or the government forces are uncooperative in allowing the food shipments to go through.

A light in the dark is that the government has allowed the United Nations to establish "Operation Life-line." This relief effort administers aid to Sudan's war torn population, including the thousands of Sudanese refugees who have fled their country to the surrounding states of Ethiopia, Zaire and Uganda. On 26 May the dialogue continued as the parties met in Nigeria. As the two SPLA factions were fighting each other, the Sudanese army seized the opportunity to make military gains against the SPLA. Soon the SPLA found itself cornered in the eastern Equatoria Province. The government is determined to end this war. However, if the grievances of the south are not dealt with, the situation will remain unstable.

The longest civil war in Africa started in 1961, when Ethiopia tried to annex the former Italian colony Eritrea. The Eritreans have been fighting for independence ever since. As a military junta seized power from Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, the conflict intensified. The fighting raged on in the 1980s and triggered a series of famines in Eritrea and parts of Ethiopia. In 1988, Eritrean rebels started to make some gains. And on 24 May 1991 under a siege from the coalition of rebel groups – the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) fighting for the independence of the Eritrean region located in the north, the Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF) seeking more autonomy for the Tigre region and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) fighting for more autonomy for the Oromo ethnic group – the government collapsed. Now the Afar clan (ALF) mostly located in northern Ethiopia and Eritrea has also entered the conflict and demands independence.

After the collapse of the Ethiopian government in June 1991, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front established a provisional government to govern the Eritrean province until a U.N.sponsored referendum on Ethiopia's future government and the status of the Eritrean province is initiated. This referendum is delayed until 1993 so that the new leaders will have a chance of stabilizing their position. Ultimately, the EPLF wants Eritrea to become an independent nation. The EPLF continues to maintain the largest and most powerful army of the three rebel groups.

The TPLF, which controls Addis Ababa, the capital and its surrounding area, has established an interim government that is committed to early elections. However, the interim TPLF government is unpopular throughout most of Ethiopia. The Tigreans only make up 12% of the Ethiopian population. The interim government is regarded unrepresentative by the largest ethnic group, the Oromo, who make up 40% of the population, and by the Amhara, who make up 25% of the population and are the overwhelming majority in the capital. A common fear among all the ethnic groups is that the Tigrean government will seek to establish a Marxist style government similar to Mengistu's, since a Marxist ideology has been their platform until recent months. Because of the hostilities between the TPLF and OLF, armed banditry and inter-clan fighting has rendered it dangerous, if not impossible, to provide humanitarian aid to the starving population. A worsening famine and a politically divided population puts the Ethiopian crisis far from being settled. The future remains uncertain for the seven million citizens who reportedly face starvation due to a combination of drought and instability.

The problems in Somalia erupted in 1990, when dissatisfaction with the 21-year regime of President Siad Barre came to a head. Accused of repressive policies and vast human rights violations against the Somalia National Movement (SAM) and the Somali people, Barre promised reform, but moved too slowly. Rival clans from southern and central Somalia marched on the capital. As General Aidid with the United Somalia Congress (USC) entered Mogadishu in January 1991, Mr Barre had no choice but to leave the presidential palace for exile in Kenya. Much to General Aidid's regret, the interim government appointed Mr. Mahdi, a USC member, as President. Mr. Mahdi's task is to prepare for elections within two years time. Mahdi accuses, justifiably, General Aidid of undoing his efforts. General Aidid, on the other hand accuses Mahdi of filling the administration with corrupt businessmen and former

Barre loyalists. In the following months, the rift between Mr. Mahdi and General Aidid, who belong to two different clans, grew. The fighting for power between the clans has now really gone awry. The clans belong to the same branch of Sunni Muslim and speak the same language, but have been enemies for centuries fighting over food and pastures.

The road to peace is full of obstacles. In May 1991, the northern part of Somalia was declared as the independent Somaliland Republic by Mr. Ahmed Ali, the leader of the Somalia National Movement (SNM). This was declared a destructive act for the unity of Somalia by the interim government. There is also a rumor that Mr. Barre is preparing to move in on the ongoing conflict from the South. Apart from this there is the personal animosity amongst the leaders. Somalia is, at the moment, an ungoverned country with gunmen, whom neither faction can control, roaming about and in many cases, fighting for food alone. The clan feud is threatening the livelihood of 4.5 million people. As of February 1992, an estimated 5,000 people have been killed and 20,000 wounded since the civil war erupted in November 1991. The conflicting parties met in New York in February 1992 to work out a cease fire that included a monitoring mission by the U.N., in cooperation with the Arab League, the Islamic conference and the OAU. It was signed on March 3, 1992. But, the agreement has not been respected. It has been very hard for humanitarian aid to reach its destination. Consequently, on 25 April, the Security Council approved a small peacekeeping force for the battered country. Yet as the fighting is hard to control and famine takes hold of Somalia, it is a country with a dark outlook.

The internal fighting in many of the Eastern African countries threatens the health and life of many of the inhabitants. In the Horn of Africa at least 23 million people are in urgent need of emergency food aid. The warfare and the drought continues to compound the problem. To counter this, the leaders in the Horn of Africa met in April 1992 to discuss how to insure non-interference with humanitarian assistance and transport.

Central and West Africa

In Central and West Africa, many countries are still in the process of national consolidation and this occupies most of their time. President Lansana Conte of Guinea, for example has not found it easy to overcome the legacies of Sekou Toure's corrupt and authoritarian rule as Conte, under a new constitution approved in December 1990, tries to restore domestic and international confidence in his country. Other states, such as Mali and Mauritania, are preoccupied with economic problems in light of the recent drought and are concentrating on trying to remedy their countries economic malaise. More perplexing is the recent expulsion of Zairian citizens by Congo. The internal conflicts in the region and the economic situation occupies the mind of most countries in Central and West Africa.

While violence accompanied much of the internal political disputes in the region during 1990 and the first half of 1991, a full scale civil war erupted in the region as well. In 1990, fighting began between the government of Liberian President Samuel Doe and the rebel opposition, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, led by Charles Taylor, and a smaller and less powerful breakaway faction, led by Prince Johnson. In August 1990, as the 5,000 man army of Taylor advanced toward Monrovia, the Liberian capital, Prince Johnson signed a truce with the Liberian government and the two armies joined forces against Taylor. Concomitantly, a 4,000-member international military force from the surrounding states of Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia and Guinea landed at the Liberian port – Monrovia. Under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the forces intervened with the goal of restoring order to Liberia through a year-long transition period, followed by national elections.

On September 11, 1990, President Doe, was killed in a dispute with Johnson. In November ECOWAS established an interim government of National Unity and recognized Mr. Sawyer as President until elections. Sawyer was also recognized as President in a meeting of Liberian exiles and activists in August 1990 and reappointed by a similar one in Monrovia in March 1991. Taylor, who claims that his representatives where not able to reach the conference, has also announced his presidency. Mr. Taylor controls almost all areas outside the capital, and has controls over Liberia's exports and imports. Because he is known in the country, it is likely that he will win the elections. To the world, however, he is known for wide-spread misrule, human rights violations and failing to cooperate with the interim government.

If Liberia is to return to normality, the two leaders need to cooperate. The peacekeeping forces intend to stay until elections can be held. But since Mr. Taylor did not keep the agreed disarmament deadline of January 15, 1992, it is uncertain when the elections will be held. In addition to the need for cooperation, there is a need for international aid and relief support as the political conflict has wrought severe damage upon the nation's economic and social infrastructure. According to the United Nations, 1.2 million Liberians have been displaced by the fighting within their country and another half million have been forced to flee to surrounding states – the majority to Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone. Fortunately, these refugees have been well received by Liberia's neighbors. In addition to the generous hospitality of these states to care for the refugees, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has implemented a $15.9 million emergency assistance plan.

The civil war in Liberia has spread unrest throughout the region. Mr. Taylor's forces invaded Sierra Leone early in 1991, and now Sierra Leone suspects there might be another country supporting Mr. Taylor. A coordinationg group that includes Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Gambia and Senegal has been set up to ensure the cessation of the hostilities and to establish a buffer zone. The group has yet to achieve its objectives.

Internal strife is also occurring in Mali. There has been hostilities between the light-skinned Berber-speaking Tuaregs and the dark-skinned people in the South. So far the Tuaregs have received little attention from the government. As the risk of civil war increases, however, the government has entered into periodical talks with them. On January 22, 1992, a cease fire was called for and went into effect on February 8. The Tuaregs want a federal state that allows them to control their own activities, that will demilitarize northern Mali and provide more economic aid. This is acceptable to the Malian state, in part. However, there remains a major obstacle in the negotiations – the leaders of the opposition groups who have accepted the government's offers do not have control over their people which makes it nearly impossible for the fighting to end. As the conflict is fired by differences and hatred going back centuries, one can only hope that Mali will not abandon the peaceful process towards democracy.

The West and Central African states are faced with internal conflicts as they move on their way to democracy. Because of their poor economies which make it difficult for many countries to feed their people, economic assistance, environment and refugees are high priorities for this region of Africa.

Southern Africa

The region of southern Africa is politically divided between South Africa and the "front-line" states of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Namibia. A general trend in these states' relationships with South Africa is the expansion of trade relations with South Africa as it dismantles the Apartheid system. The dismantling of apartheid and the end of South Africa's "Total Strategy" (which tried to keep neighbors economically dependent and politically unstable to suppress their active opposition to apartheid) has improved the internal political situation of Angola and Mozambique that suffered from unrest and civil war which were instigated by the covert and overt intervention of South Africa.

The political, economic, and geographic differences of these countries effects the degree of disapproval levelled at South Africa's policy of apartheid. South Africa, with a larger industrial and financial base, is wealthier than the other states in the region. Most of South Africa's neighbors rely upon the South African economy for their own economies, particularly in the areas of employment, transport, telecommunications, energy and electricity, and banking. The lack of options for these countries economically, outside of their relationship with South Africa, has limited their opposition to apartheid. For example, Botswana is critical of apartheid, but can not afford to engage in the same strident rhetoric heard from Angola and Zimbabwe. Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe actively support the internal South African opposition groups to apartheid. Yet, Angola and Mozambique (both economically devastated by long civil wars) have been unable to oppose South Africa as actively as Zimbabwe which has enough economic independence to finance the liberation movements within South Africa. In return, South Africa has funded guerrillas in Mozambique who threaten a railroad line that brings Zimbabwean goods to Mozambique's ports on the east coast. Protecting this railroad line by sending Zimbabwean troops to Mozambique cost the Zimbabwean government more than $1 million a day. The Economic Commission of Africa estimates that $60 billion has been lost as a result of destruction of infrastructure, lost production and diversion of resources into refugees and military budgets because of the Total Strategy. But as the Total Strategy and apartheid take their place in history, there is hope that the resources can be diverted to economic development instead of defence and security.

South Africa's policy of apartheid has met constant disapproval not only by the surrounding states but also by the international community. For many years, the policy of apartheid has been an issue before the United Nations. Since assuming office, however, President de Klerk has made good on his word to speed the process of reform. On February 2, 1990, in a nationally televised speech, de Klerk lifted a ban on the political activity of 37 anti-apartheid organizations including the African National Congress (ANC). Accompanying this declaration was the announcement that Nelson Mandela was being unconditionally released from prison. In 1991, to an opening session of Parliament, de Klerk pledged to eradicate all apartheid laws including the death penalty. De Klerk has since lifted the restrictive state of emergency laws and all of South Africa's official apartheid statutes are now abolished.

The result of the recent all-white referendum in South Africa is a clear sign that the minority white population do indeed want the creation of a nonracial democratic South Africa, but the threat from those dedicated to preserving apartheid is still strong. The worst that could happen is that the far Right becomes more violent in its attacks and loss of life occurs, and that the far Right in the army and police will act as provocateurs for black-on-black violence in the townships. Likewise there is a threat from the extreme far Left that does not recognize the government and advocates revolution against it. This diversity of viewpoints provides for both inter and intra-racial conflict. It is not only white against blacks but also, blacks against blacks, Xhosa against Zulu, Colored against Indians. Until the barriers are bridged, violence is an everyday reality. Success in South Africa will depend on how well President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela of the ANC, and other leaders reduce the right wing's and radical left's political power, rallying the moderates toward reform and peaceful evolution.

Currently, a new constitution for a nonracial democratic South Africa is being drafted by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), which includes 19 White, Colored, Asian and Black groups. CODESA will probably finish its work in September 1992. Yet the situation is not entirely stable. There is still fierce competition for political power in South Africa.

Angola is also undergoing some changes. After 16 years of war, the three factions, UNITA, FLMA, and MPLA are now talking to one another. In 1990, peace talks between the Angolan regime, MLPA, and UNITA in Portugal, Angola's former colonial ruler, failed but the two sides met again in 1991 and reached a peace agreement. The accord established an official cease-fire and provided for the construction of a unified Angolan military. Moreover, the agreement contained a pledge for the MLPA and UNITA to work together to initiate reforms that would move the country toward a multi-party political system and a market economy. The MLPA had already initiated this reform process by renouncing its Marxist platform in March 1991 and permitting the formation of new political parties. Both parties agreed to work together in this capacity until free elections are held in 1992. This election will pit President Jose Eduardo dos Santos against the rebel leader Jonas Savimbi. Under the accord, a United Nations observer force will monitor cease-fire compliance during preparations for the 1992 elections.

In Mozambique, the war between President Joaquim Chissano's Frelimo party's government and the Mozambique Liberation Front (RENAMO), a rebel group formed in the early 1970s, continues. In 1990, after almost two decades of civil unrest, President Chissano undertook significant reforms of his government's policies. In October 1990, Frelimo surrendered its monopoly on governmental power by adopting a new constitution. The President Chissano also agreed to hold Mozambique's first democratic elections between June and September of 1991. This was followed by an official cease-fire supervised by a Joint Verification Commission in December 1990. RENAMO, however, broke the agreement and the peace process halted.

This war is particularly cruel since it is the civilian population not the military who is targeted by RENAMO. Two million people have already been displaced within Mozambique and more than one million have become refugees in Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Malawi, according to the United Nations World Food Program (WFP). As of April 1992, Malawi, with a population of eight million, was harboring one million Mozambican refugees. Despite the material burdens that the refugees place on Malawi, the authoritarian Government led by President H. Kamuzu Banda has been, unlike some African governments, unstintingly hospitable, although the continued influx of refugees may hamper this hospitality. Malawi has been a model of openness towards refugees of this civil war torn region although being heavily criticized for the lack of openness towards its own citizens and of human rights. Unfortunately, food shipments to refugees have been hindered by the civil war in Mozambique. The only hope, in addition to refugee aid of the refugee's host governments, has been an international relief program under the direction of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees started in 1986. Some voluntary repatriation of the refugees to secure areas of Mozambique has occurred, but a mass repatriation is unlikely until a complete cease-fire is concluded.

In addition to being displaced by civil war, these refugees and much of the region's population are suffering from a severe drought and famine that plague Mozambique and the rest of Southern Africa. The drought in the spring of 1992 has increased the hardship upon the region. Millions of people are near starvation, while large-scale closing of industries and massive declines in livestock herds are occurring due to the lack of water. These natural disasters may actually be the "death blow" to the already fragile economies in the region.

While some progress is being made in Southern Africa, it is still a region of with enormous refugee, economic and environmental problems. There is no doubt that South Africa will continue to dominate the region. The changes enveloping the region could lead either to stability or renewed hostility. The problems, however, will not be solved nor difficulties surmounted overnight.

The African states at the United Nations

The African Group at the United Nations is the largest Regional Group, thus giving it considerable weight in terms of number of votes they have in the U.N. system. But, the African Group is not unified and often encounters difficulties in negotiations because they are individually weak, economically and politically. Yet, the African Group tends to have a common position on more issues than the other U.N. Regional Groups.

The countries of Africa want to develop and create a peaceful environment for its people. Although there appears to be consensus on most issues discussed at the United Nations, there are differences in the importance each state assigns to the issues. Countries in the immediate vicinity of a problem tend to give it more consideration. For example, the resolution of the conflict in the Western Sahara is especially significant for Mauritania and Senegal. And the refugee issue is given considerable attention by countries neighboring a civil war. Some issues such as humanitarian and economic assistance are carried from year to year, while others, like the recent Gulf Crisis and now the situation with Libya receive intense brief attention.

Due to the underdeveloped nature of African economies, the most important issue for Africa in the U.N. is sustainable social and economic development. Central to this is the burden of external debt and the problems associated with it. The extent of African debt, in the fall of 1991, totalled $270 billion. The African states are pushing for two international conferences – one on African development and the other on financing development – in 1993. The African states also seek an agreement on the stabilization of commodity prices and fairer terms of trade. Other issues are population planning, health, women, children, shelter, education, unemployment, brain drain as a consequence of emigration, and human rights. Many nations hope that the "New Agenda For Africa" will address and solve many of Africa's economic and social problems.

The environment is also at the top of the African agenda. Working nationally and internationally to address environmental issues are organizations such as Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in Sahel and Permanent Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development in East Africa. The African states give high importance to United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). The continuing degradation of the African environment, including the destruction of forests, drought, desertification, soil erosion, pollution, diminishing fresh water resources, and loss of biological species, are tied in with the economic and social development of the continent, since a sustainable environment is integral to the development process. Humanitarian assistance for emergency situations, particularly famine relief, is of immediate concern to the African Group.

Another issue for the African states is the U.N. sanctions on Libya. Indeed, some countries feel uncomfortable about the Western powers interference in the region. Other conflicts that the African Group would like to see peaceful resolutions for are the situations in Western Sahara, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Liberia, and Mozambique. The peaceful settlement of these regional crises are very important for the African States. The instability on the continent has given rise to the issue of displaced persons, refugees, and returnees. At the 46th General Assembly, many African States expressed hope for voluntary repatriation and durable solutions. The problem of refugees in

Africa is vast. Djibouti has over 90,000 refugees due to surrounding civil war. The civil war in Somalia affects 4–5 million people now in need of help. Sudan is host to over 780,000 refugees, in addition to the influx of 100,000 Ethiopians. In Liberia, returnees are a considerable economic burden on its fragile economy.

In the settlement of regional disputes United Nations and regional organizations are often called upon to provide expertise, support, humanitarian aid, and increasingly, to monitor a peace process up to and during elections. Having experienced upheaval and violence, many African states support the intervention of regional and international organizations to resolve intra and interstate conflicts. Consequently, the prevention of future conflicts, conventional disarmament and treaties controlling transportation of weapons are major issues for the African states in the United Nations. In addition the African states have long expressed a wish for a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty and a nuclear free zone in Africa, which is violated only by South Africa.

Outside of the African continent, African states support the United Nations' efforts to end regional conflicts, especially in Cambodia, Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Iraq, and Lebanon. All wish for a peaceful solution to the fighting in Afghanistan. African states and especially the North African and many East African states that have significant Muslim populations are deeply concerned with the plight of the Palestinians.

The African states hope that the "New World Order" will not increase the schism between North and South, but will decrease it. Africa expects the "New World Order" to foster a shared sense of global responsibility and a vision of democracy within countries, between countries, in the U.N., and in the global economy. It is hoped that increased regional and global cooperation will help solve the problems currently confronting Africa.

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Asia and the Pacific

Imagine trying to connect into one coherent movement four distinct sub-regions of the world which traditionally have remained divided but have experienced dramatic changes as recently as the publication of last year's edition. Consider also the history of a region which for many centuries has been self-sufficient and isolated now emerging into the world scheme of events making a global splash in international politics and economics. Stretching from Mongolia in the north, Pakistan in the west, New Zealand to the south, and the island of Tonga in the east, Asia and the Pacific covers the most heavily populated part of our planet. By the year 2000, half of the cities with ten million or more people will be located in Asia. With these vast parameters in mind, it is easier to identify the lands which encompass Asia and the Pacific: East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, and the Pacific – by considering them regionally.

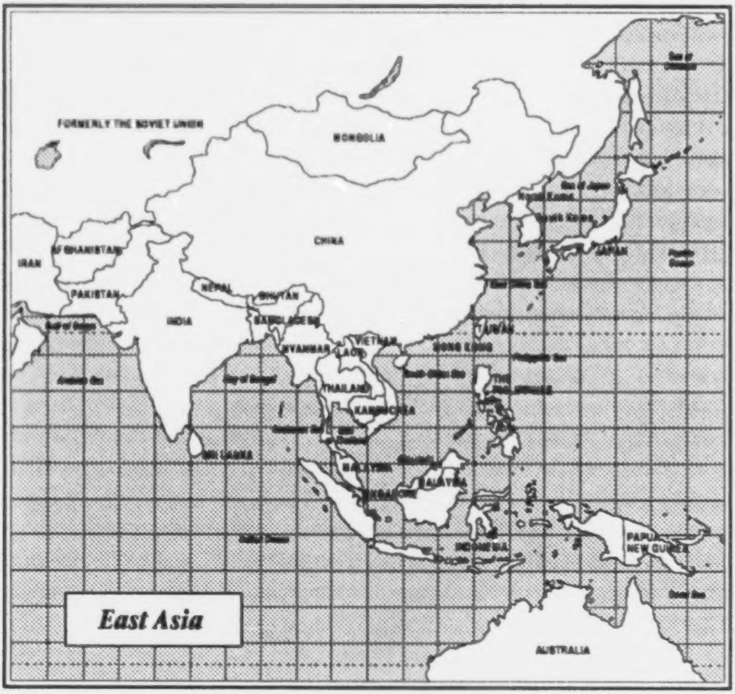
The Asia and Pacific region is experiencing a continuing period of metamorphosis which includes expressions of national interests by governments, attempts to introduce or improve free-market economies, and greater reliance on the collective security opportunities offered by the United Nations. To understand fully Asia and the Pacific, it is important to realize how these three classifications are integrated in each part of the region and how they effect the overall picture.

While solving the Cambodian, Korean,dia/Pakistan disputes draws the most attention, every region has encountered or will experience new domestic challenges. These challenges range from minor demonstrations to major upheavals. In East Asia, important consideration has been placed on world trade talks. In Southeast Asia, the discussions have focused on the chances for settling the Myanmar issue and Thailand's new government. Observation in South Asia has illustrated increasing certainty for ending civil wars in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. In the South Pacific, it is important to note the Dili massacre by Indonesian forces which elicited international condemnation of its human rights violations. With these important political events taking place within just the last year, it is easy to see how a wave of political change is sweeping through Asia and the Pacific.

Regional organizations

Although the United Nations was founded to maintain peace on a global basis, it must, at times, rely on regional agreements to unify states and prevent disputes in the early stages. Various regional organizations have been created to allow states the chance to obtain mutually-held interests through cooperation. This, in turn, reinforces the idea of international peace among neighboring countries.

In Asia and the Pacific, the regional organizations may be classified into two major categories: alliances which transcend local divisions to incorporate states from, for example, South Asia to East Asia, and those organizations which limit membership to countries within a specific area or interest. For the entire area, there is the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, the Asian Development Bank, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Ministerial Meeting, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Colombo Plan, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Commonwealth. Within each of the four regions, the groups naturally are smaller and tend to have restrict-


East Asia
FORMERLY THE SOVIET UNION
MONGOLIA
CHINA
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
BANGLADESH
MYANMAR
LAOS
VIETNAM
THAILAND
KAMPUCHEA
SRI LANKA
MALAYSIA
SINGAPORE
INDONESIA
TAIWAN
HONG KONG
North Korea
South Korea
Sea of Japan
JAPAN
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
AUSTRALIA

ed membership. They are listed below: Southeast Asia is tied together primarily through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), South Asia has members in the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and the South Pacific supports The South Pacific Commission (SPC) and the South Pacific Forum (SPF).

The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) was founded in 1947 with the goal to encourage economic and social development in Asia and the Far East. ESCAP is only one of several commissions created to promote economic and social progress throughout the world. Membership includes Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brunei, Cambodia, People's Republic of China (PRC), Fiji, India, Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nauru, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Vietnam, and Western Samoa. In addition to these countries, France, Netherlands, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom (U.K.), and the United States of America (U.S.) also maintain full membership, despite the fact they are not located within the Asia and Pacific region; the Cook Islands, Guam, Hong Kong, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Niue, Northern Mariana Islands, and Palau have associate membership. ESCAP was created to function as a U.N. regional center of other regional councils, the only intergovernmental forum for the whole of Asia and the Pacific. It has responsibility to execute a wide range of development programs through technical assistance, advancing services to governments, research, training,formation.

Created under the supervision of the ESCAP, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) is composed of all Asian states except for Brunei and Mongolia. Thirteen European countries, Canada, and the United States are also members of the ADB and have worked since its establishment in 1974 "to provide a systematic mechanism for mobilizing and administering resources for the bank to lend on concessionary terms to the least developed member countries." To function as an organization, the ADB relies mostly on state subscriptions.

To strengthen cooperation among major economic players in the Asia/Pacific region, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Ministerial Meeting was inaugurated in Canberra in November 1988. APEC consists of six ASEAN member countries, U.S., Japan, Canada, Republic of Korea, Australia, and New Zealand. In view of the weight of participating countries in the world economy, APEC is expected to become a major forum for regional economic cooperation. The third APEC Meeting (APEC III) took place in Seoul, November 1991.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference was created in 1971 and represents all Islamic countries worldwide. South Asian members include Afghanistan (suspended in January 1980 and reinstated in March 1989), Bangladesh, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Maldives as members. The Islamic Conference's aims are stated in their charter which includes the promotion of Islamic solidarity among member states; the consolidation of cooperation among member states in economic, social, cultural, scientific, and other vital fields; the elimination of racial segregation, discrimination and colonialism; the continued support of international peace and security based on justice; and the protection and safeguarding of Holy Lands.

Also a transcendent regional organization, the Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific differs from the previously mentioned groups because the specific aid programs are negotiated bilaterally on a government-to-government basis without a common fund to finance national development projects. Affiliated countries include the following states: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, and Thailand. Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Canada, U.K., and the U.S. act as the six donor contributors.

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) has followed the principles to ensure national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries against interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics. In 1986, 101 countries participated as full members of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries. Asia and Pacific members include Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Indonesia, Cambodia, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), Laos, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Singapore, Sri lanka, Vietnam, and Vanuatu. The Philippines, Papua New Guinea, and Mongolia maintain observer status, Cambodia's official seat has remained vacant since 1979 when NAM refused to seat either of the country's rival governments, and Myanmar withdrew in the same year, arguing that it would look for a truly neutral forum elsewhere.

The Commonwealth is comprised of countries which were formerly part of the British Empire and have voluntarily applied for membership. While the Commonwealth has members in every hemisphere, in Asia and the Pacific it includes Australia, Bangladesh, Brunei, Kiribati, Malaysia, Maldives, Nauru, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa. The original Commonwealth was established in 1931 under the principle that all members were completely equal in status and united in allegiance to the Crown; the birth of the modern day Commonwealth is in 1949 when those states which joined were not required to recognize the Crown as the head of state, and therefore could choose their own leader, but only as the head of the Commonwealth.

In Southeast Asia, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, commonly referred to as ASEAN, is composed of six countries: Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Papua New Guinea maintains special observer status. Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos may become members in the future. ASEAN has also strengthened its economic cooperation with advanced countries through its mechanism of "dialogue" of foreign ministers with seven countries (US, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the European Community, and most recently, South Korea). Representing a combined population of 314 million people, ASEAN's goal is to accelerate economic progress and to increase the Southeast Asian countries' political stability.

South Asia is represented by the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC). SAARC was established in 1985, and was the first regional organization to hold a summit of all South Asian nations. SAARC represents one-fifth of the world's population and is composed of seven countries: Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Maldives, and Bhutan. Although SAARC has been accused of being ridden by bitter political wrangling, thus resulting in little cooperation at times on their projects, SAARC maintains considerable influence in the economic and political developments for South Asia. An example of SAARC's successful coordination among countries is evident in last year's signed convention in Male, Maldives aimed against illegal arms and drug trafficking in South Asia. SAARC also has declared the 1990s to be the "Decade of the Girl Child."

In the South Pacific zone there are two major organizations which promote regional stability and/or economic development. The South Pacific Commission (SPC) is the larger of the two and is made up of twenty-seven member regional states and metropolitan powers. The SPC membership is not limited to South Pacific countries only, metropolitan or colonist countries like the U.S., U.K., and France are also members. The SPC is ruled by the supreme making authority of a Commission. The SPC's major goals are to provide technical advice, training, and assistance in economic, social, and cultural development to countries within the region.

Created as a forum for South Pacific heads of state to hold informal discussions, the South Pacific Forum (SPF) is a truly Pacific organization. The SPF is considered by its members to be the paramount regional body. The SPF holds no written constitution or international agreements among members and decisions are reached by consensus. Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa are all members. In 1985 the SPF declared the South Pacific to be a nuclear free zone which prohibited possession, testing, and the use of nuclear weapons in the region. The South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (SPNFZ) has now been signed by eleven of the original thirteen forum negotiating parties; the treaty became effective in December of 1986.

Regional politics in East Asia

To understand the politics of East Asian governments, it is necessary to first identify them. They are as follows: Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Japan, Mongolia, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Republic of Korea (ROK), Taiwan or Republic of China (ROC), the British Protectorate of Hong Kong, and the Portuguese territory of Macau. Within these geographic guidelines, we will center mainly on how various nation's internal politics and economic interests relate to the region as a whole.

East Asia has recently experienced dramatic changes and has received enormous worldwide attention. Reunification talks in Korea, the expanded political role of Japan, and the transformation of Mongolia into a capitalist democracy, for example, make more flexible diplomacy imperative, as the world rethinks previous relationships.

Japan's economic dominance in Asia and the Pacific and the world has given it a more prominent role in the global economy. Since the U.S. role in the region has declined, Japan has increased its share of the responsibilities, power,fluence in the region. When the Japanese Yen was revalued with the signing of the 1985 Plaza Accords, the Japanese were forced to begin searching abroad for cheaper production costs. As a result, Japan is heavily involved in interreional trade not only with East Asian countries, but also with ASEAN members, South Asian and South Pacific countries as well. Japan is now the leading investor in nearly every country in the entire region. After watching the success of the Newly Industrializing Countries, ASEAN members have deregulated their economies, privatized state enterprises, liberalized their foreign exchange and foreign investment controls, and reduced trade barriers. These changes have led Japan to invest more money in Japanese firms located in Southeast Asia which will sell directly to Southeast Asia. With the combination of the devalued yen and ASEAN's coordinated actions, the Japanese and its ASEAN partners have benefitted from higher trade. Now with the formation of an ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), ASEAN members hope to prevent any diversion of Japanese and other investments to the European and North American trade blocs. Although Japan will not be designated as the speaker for the entire region, its extended economy will serve to further unite Asian countries in trade.

Because of extensive trade and heavy investment in South East Asia, Japan has concerns over the settlements in Cambodia, Myanmar, and Thailand. Peace and stability in South East Asia will create a favorable environment for cooperation and support for Japan's economic interests. Japan has contributed considerable financial aid to all countries and undertaken a number of diplomatic initiatives, including the hosting of the Tokyo meeting on Cambodia in 1991. Japan is even considering to contribute civilian and military personnel to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) operations.

Countries not located directly within Asia and the Pacific have also been seeking economic assistance from the Japanese. Recognizing the importance of Asia for America's economic recovery from its mired recession, President George Bush embarked on a twelve-day tour in January 1992 to Japan, Australia, Singapore, and South Korea with the objectives to reduce trade imbalances and to create American jobs. Although the U.S. and Japan solved no major problems, they did draft the "Tokyo Declaration" which affirmed a U.S. – Japan global partnership, in which the parties agreed to share responsibility for helping shape the post-Cold War era, and the accompanying "Global Partnership Plan of Action" which included some Japanese concessions on trade issues.

Japan has recently been trying to fend off a surge of foreign criticism, particularly from the U.S., over the size of its enormous trade surplus by decreasing the volume of exports and increasing imports. But Japan's trade surplus climbed to an all-time high in February 1992, as exports, especially in Asia, jumped while a slowing domestic economy and lower oil prices decreased imports. As the U.S. recession deepened, increased American resentment over the $41-billion trade gap spotlighted Japan and the U.S.'s evolving relationship.

The United States has benefitted from Japanese assistance and has been hurt by Japan's protectionist trade policies as well. By purchasing many U.S. Treasury Securities in the past decade to underwrite a large portion of America's budget deficit, Japan has become involved in helping even western nations deal with a shortage of money. The Japanese have also suffered from growing criticism of their protectionist policies at home. The complex interaction between internal, regional, and global markets can be illustrated by the question of importing American rice. Because Japan subsidizes its domestic rice farmers to keep them employed, domestically-grown rice costs nearly six times more than that which is produced in U.S. The possibility of Japan reducing its protectionist laws and opening more of its trade to the international market, thus aiding its foreign trading partners' trade deficits, is currently being discussed at the Uruguay Round of GATT talks.

Japan has already taken major steps toward accepting its responsibility toward the rest of the world. One hotly debated government proposal suggests sending Japanese military forces abroad under United Nations auspices. Japan was criticized for contributing only financial support to the Gulf War and saw the need to redefine its expanding leadership role in the world. For a country that has not sent forces abroad since WWII, this is a controversial question. In direct relations with the United Nations, Japan has requested its name struck from the list of eleven enemy nations enumerated in the U.N. Charter. In the longer term, it wants a permanent seat on the Security Council. The Foreign Ministry lobbied hard to win Japan's seventh two-year term in the rotating Asian seat on the Security Council. None of those goals are unreasonable for a country whose share of world GNP is already 15 percent and rising. Japan's increased visibility and higher status as an international economic leader have not come about without forcing them to deal with political questions at home. The rest of the world watches and waits to see how Japan will increase its role as a political leader.

Although communism is disintegrating quickly throughout the world, the PRC will not abandon it. It has instead tried to protect Communist dominance of China paradoxically with flexible economic policies that include elements of capitalism to raise the standard of living. Deng Xiaoping, who at the age of 87 holds no formal position but remains the PRC's most powerful leader, has called for a campaign that broadens reforms and opens the county up to increased modernization and domestic economic development. He has also triggered an aggressive effort within the Communist Party to oust hardline ideologues from key party and government positions. Deng's efforts seem aimed at removing ideological roadblocks and bureaucratic resistance to an expansion of market-oriented reforms. While always insisting that the Communist Party's authority must not be challenged, Deng appears to believe that the hard-line strategy, with its focus on ideological purity and harsh warnings against foreign subversion, may actually increase dissatisfaction and risks to the Government.

Trying to reforge his country's ties with other nations since the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, Prime Minister Li Peng attended the first U.N. Security Council Summit in New York following a five-nation European trip in January 1992. The U.N. is an increasingly important forum in the PRC's efforts to become internationally influential, especially given Beijing's concerns at the U.S.-led attempts to establish a more Western-style and interventionist New

World Order that threatens Chinese interests. The PRC is placing particular emphasis on the promotion of its national interest through the U.N. It is one of the few forums where the PRC, as one of the five permanent U.N. Security Council members, has modest diplomatic power internationally. In addition, given that the overwhelming majority of U.N. General Assembly members are from the developing world, the PRC hopes it will be able to dilute the excessive influence of the U.S. and its Western allies in the organization.

While other countries are slashing military spending and focusing on their economic strength, the PRC is continuing a costly military modernization program. The post-cold war world, viewed from Beijing, remains an uncertain place. The Soviet military threat is gone, but the possibility of North Korea going nuclear and the U.S. insistence on a New World Order dominated by Western values and economic power poses new challenges. A vocal minority in Taiwan still persists in calling for independence, and nuclear-capable India, with whom the PRC shares a disputed border, is an on-going concern. The most likely area of future conflict is the battle with communist Vietnam over territory in the South China Sea, which may be rich in oil.

The PRC sees the military as a high priority to safeguard the nation's economic development by guaranteeing domestic stability and safe borders. A strong military also will allow the PRC to assert its fishing and mineral exploration rights in the 125-mile zone around the coast. The PRC has always maintained a large presence in the South and East China seas. It is however, increasing its effort to improve its ability to project its power into the area.

Much of the money for the PRC's high-tech arms purchases comes from sales of more mundane weapons to Third World clients. This, along with its huge trade surpluses with the U.S., occupation of Tibet, and human rights violations, have fueled the debate over America extending its Most Favored Nation status to Beijing. The PRC's push to modernize its forces could hamper American-led efforts to control the spread of ballistic missiles and other military technology. China's ambitious drive to upgrade its armed forces could make Asia and the rest of the world even more volatile.

In Taiwan, the major issue traditionally has been the claim of the Republic of China to be the true government of the Chinese people, including all of the PRC. Recent changes made to the ROC's foreign policy by President Lee Teng-hui have included the acceptance of ROC and PRC coexistence within the various international organizations, even if the ROC is obliged to attend under the name of Taipei-China. This policy change has led to the establishment of new relations with other countries. President Teng-hui has also pursued a policy of open exchanges and reunification talks with the PRC, dealing with the reality of two Chinas and the necessity of peaceful coexistence.

While Taiwan has played a significant role in the international economic system through its commercial success, the evolution of its government has captured world attention. Its economic successes have gone hand-in-hand with a process of liberalization, the first milestone of internal democratization (the lifting of martial law, the introduction of legislation permitting opposition parties, and the organization of free elections) and overtures to the PRC (such as the authorization of family visits, contact between officials from the ROC and the PRC, and postal and telephone links between the island and the mainland). However, these reforms, which are bound to have a long-term effect on the Taiwan question, are accompanied by and equally significant to change in Taipei's foreign policy. The Taiwanese economic miracle has made possible the island's further integration into the international economic system. The links between Taiwan and the world are essentially commercial and non-official in nature. Today, the ROC maintains diplomatic relations with only 26 countries, and of these only South Korea and South Africa are internationally important. That may soon change.

Last year, President and Kuomintang Chairman Li Teng-hui announced the forced retirement of the old guard and recently free elections were held. Although Taiwanese authorities have also clearly shown that they are prepared to accept the concept of "double recognition," the PRC does not seem to be prepared to follow the ROC along this path. Taiwan is now willing to put that issue of the "One-China" policy on hold in order to establish the international diplomatic presence it needs to play a part in global politics.

Taiwan's application for membership in GATT, is likely to be discussed with the support of the United States. However, the PRC objects. The ROC applied to join the GATT under the name of "Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu Customs Territory" on 1 January 1990. Although Taiwan is not a member of the U.N., (Taiwan lost its seat in 1971 when the UN General Assembly and Security Council voted to recognize the PRC to take the China Seat) it will be interesting to see in the future what will happen to Taiwan which has the largest foreign exchange reserves in the world (70 billion dollars). This issue illustrates the complex interplay of politics and economics that will determine the future.

Colonized and governed by the U.K. for 150 years, Hong Kong faces the transition of reunification with the PRC, when it will be returned to the control of mainland government on 1 July 1997. Having been under British political and economic influence for decades, Hong Kong's citizens have expressed fear that their lives will change dramatically and their rights will not be considered when the PRC takes over. Evidence of this may be found, for example, in the large numbers of Hong Kong citizens with British passports relocating in Canada, Australia, the United States, and Singapore. Problems of transition include double-digit inflation and a labor shortage. Currently, Hong Kong's growth rate stands at 3.5 percent, compared with an 8.5 percent average over the last decade. Now there is more Hong Kong manufacturing in the PRC's Guangdong Province than in Hong Kong itself.

Difficulties of transition which were dominant last year have been somewhat relieved because the economic situation in the PRC has become improved and the government has become apparently less hard-line. Currently, there are negotiations and closer cooperation conducted through the Sino-British Joint Liaison Group (JLG) and other channels. The future Special Administrative Region (SAR) government will be formed through the elected Legislative Council in 1995. It aims for smooth transition, comprehensive implementation of the Basic Law, and comprehensive implementation of the principle of "one country, two systems," in which Hong Kong would continue to practice some form of capitalism in the future.

In considering the refugee problem in Hong Kong, we need to make a distinction as to the nationality of those seeking haven. First, there are the estimated one hundred people who flee daily from mainland China and enter Hong Kong illegally. The PRC has consistently maintained that they do not see the people's flight as a question or problem because China considers Hong Kong as part of its territory. The second group of refugees has come from abroad, mainly from Vietnam.

The British government stopped forcing repatriation for almost two years, after the expulsion of 51 boat people in 1989 caused an international outrage. Recently, Britain and Vietnam signed an agreement on the forced repatriation of Vietnamese not granted refugee status. Of the Vietnamese in Hong Kong, more than 20,000 have been declared economic refugees and denied asylum. Only about 4,300 of those have been judged political refugees and are awaiting resettlement in a third country. More than 36,000 are waiting to be screened. London would like to clear the camps, a legacy of the Vietnam War, within three years. But fewer than 150 refugees have been forced home so far. Refugee camps are at best a temporary solution, and all parties are hoping to resettle the refugees as conditions improve in the homelands.

In 1990, Mongolia followed the former Eastern bloc in throwing over communism. On 27 January 1992, the country passed a new Constitution, throwing out the last vestiges of communism and installing democracy and a market economy. Mongolia is now called the State of Mongolia with a democratic parliament and an independent judicial system with guaranteed freedom of speech. Partly because of the collapse of its former sponsor, the Soviet Union, Mongolia's 2.1 million people are currently struggling through its worst economic crisis in decades, with food and fuel rationing, power cuts and shortages, rising unemployment, and falling trade.

North and South Korea have made historic strides towards resolving four decades of animosity and reunification. The sudden reconciliation came as the North's long-time ally, the Soviet Union collapsed, and Pyongyang found itself increasingly isolated. The two governments signed a 25-point accord on non-aggression, cooperation and reconciliation on December 13,1991. Under the pact, North and South agreed to formally end the Korean War. Two weeks later, North Korean leader Kim II Sung agreed to allow international inspection of his nuclear facilities. South Korean President RohTae Woo announced the cancellation of the annual "Team spirit" joint military exercise with the United States. Seoul had already declared itself free of U.S. nuclear weapons.

Many hurdles toward reunification remain. The U.S. government believes North Korea may be only months away from having a nuclear-weapons capability. They also suspect that North Korea is digging tunnels in an effort to hide nuclear weapons components from international inspectors and protect them from possible attack by the U.S. or South Korea. If North Korea produces a nuclear weapon, that could prompt South Korea and even anti-nuclear Japan to rethink their military – and perhaps their nuclear – options. While significant political advances have been made, the region remains potentially explosive because of military concerns.

Last year, North Korea insisted that both Koreas be admitted to U.N. membership under a single seat. However on 17 September 1991, North and South Korea were admitted into the U.N. as separate member states.

East Asia and the U.N.

The fundamental changes and powerful new trends currently permeating the global scene have evoked hopes for a new era in international relations. The historic transformation of East-West relations has brought an end to the Cold War. Human and material resources which were tied down in ideological rivalry, bloc politics, and confrontation can now be used for development. The countries in East Asia are anxious to see the establishment of a new international order. The goals for the countries in this region are peace and security, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's affairs, an environment in which all people can lead rewarding lives,ternational relations founded upon dialogue and cooperation.

The settlements of regional issues stands at the top of the East Asian agenda at the U.N. Immediate issues include peacekeeping and future elections in Cambodia, North and South Korea's possible reunification, disarmament, the international economy and developing countries.

Reduced tension and stability on the Korean peninsula not only fulfill the aspirations of the Korean people, but also bring further peace and security to Asia and the world at large. The simultaneous admission of North and South Koreas as full Members of the United Nations is an important event. All countries in the region hope that North and South Korea will continue to improve their relations through dialogue and consultation, expand their exchanges and cooperation and gradually remove antagonism. These developments lead towards the final independent and peaceful reunification of the nation.

The Cambodian question is of great concern for East Asia because of the de-stabilizing condition it has brought to the region. Both the PRC and Japan have been involved in trying to solve the conflict. As a permanent member of the United Nation's Security Council, the PRC is directly involved in a comprehensive political solution for Cambodia. Japan, a two-year member of the Security Council, contributes financially at least a third of the cost of stationing troops in the war-ravaged country and will possibly join the U.N. peacekeeping forces. Significantly, the head of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia is Japanese official Yasushi Akashi.

Another area of concern is disarmament. East Asia views very seriously the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) and the control of nuclear weapons. To achieve regulations on nuclear disarmament, East Asia sees the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Geneva Conference on Disarmament as means of preventing nuclear states from acting on non-nuclear states or threatening to use or test those weapons in non-nuclear zones. The PRC recently joined the NPT and both North and South Korea have signed a joint declaration on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

Realizing that the divided countries are interrelated and inseparable, with benefits available for both sides through cooperation, East Asian nations are closely watching the internationalization of the world economy as it affects development of southern countries. Japan, for example, will use its global economic strength to play a major role as benefactor in the region, asking for the continuation of free trade and reducing protectionist measures for the twenty-first century. Questions of economic growth and social development cannot be isolated from the question of environment. Countries in East Asia stress the importance for all nations to join together and agree on ways of ensuring a congenial environment for the future, afforded by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in 1992. East Asian nations hope to improve management of two imperatives; development and the environment. Countries in the region are supporting the upgrading of the developing countries' ability to deal with the needs of environmental conservation. Japan intends to continue to implement vigorously its development assistance, including the establishment of the United Nations Environment Program International Environmental Technology Center in Tokyo. The PRC attaches great importance to environmental protection and recently hosted a conference for 41 developing countries to establish principles and discuss solutions for environmental problems.

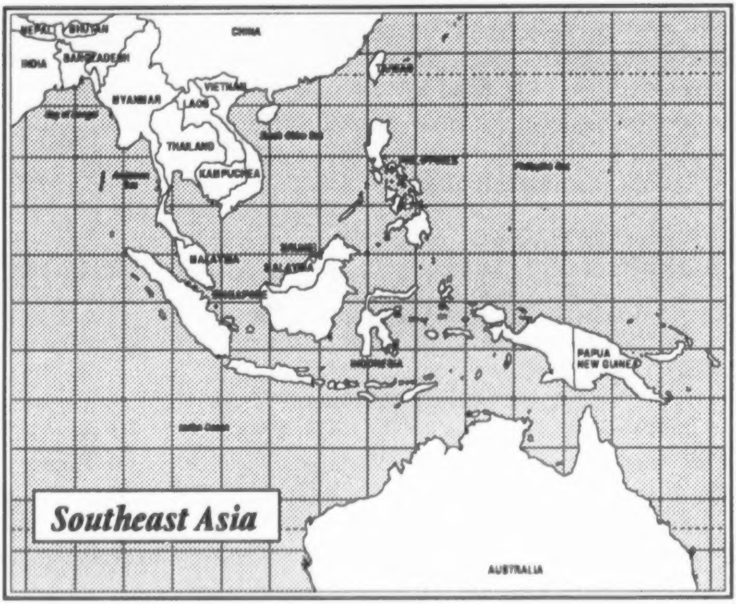
Regional politics in Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia consists of Brunei Darussalam, Myanmar (Burma), Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines. With peace in Cambodia on the horizon and elections in Thailand, Southeast Asia also has experienced substantial changes. Special emphasis will be on Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, and the Philippines and how their neighbors have interacted with them politically and economically in the past.

The Cambodian conflict has dominated and continues to attract the most attention in Southeast Asia's political context. For the past thirteen years, Cambodia has been caught up in a debilitating and ravaging civil war. The four major factions are the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea (PRPK) regime in Cambodia, the PRC supported Khieu Samphan and the Party of Democratic Kampuchea, the Khmer Peoples National Liberation Front (KPNLF) led by Son Sann, and the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Co-operative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

In October last year, comprehensive agreements on a settlement of the four sided contest for state power have been signed in Paris. The faction leaders agreed to put 70% of their forces under U.N. supervision and share power in a Supreme National Council until elections could be held, provisionally scheduled for early 1993. The elections will be on the basis of proportional representation for each of Cambodia's 20 provinces.

Prince Sihanouk and the Cambodian parties have negotiated several substantial modifications to the original U.N. plan, retaining for themselves a larger role during the transitional period. The PRPK has taken the new name of Cambodian People's Party (CPP), formally abandoning communism. Other countries have been trying to help relieve some of Cambodia's problems with measures such as lifting embargoes on trade and aid by the U.S. and prepar-


NEPAL
BHUTAN
CHINA
INDIA
BANGLADESH
MYANMAR
VIETNAM
LAOS
TAIWAN
THAILAND
KAMPUCHEA
PHILIPPINES
MALAYSIA
BRUNEI
MALAYSIA
SINGAPORE
INDONESIA
PAPUA
NEW GUINEA
Southeast Asia
AUSTRALIA

ing an international donors' conference on reconstruction by Japan.

But since the triumphant home-coming of one-time monarch Sihanouk in November 1991, the elation has turned into concern. First, there was the near-lynching of Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan when he first returned to Phnom Penh. Then, anti-corruption riots erupted in the capital. Panicky security forces opened fire and at least six people died. The incident underscored the U.N.'s limited power to keep the peace. Much of the work of rebuilding Cambodia cannot really begin until progress is made in clearing mines.

The UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), the largest force in history with 22,000 peacekeeping force members will be expected to join a small contingent already there by May 1992.

Major obstacles in implementing the U.N.'s peace plan are Cambodia's competition with countries such as Yugoslavia for the limited resources of the U.N.'s peacekeeping budget and whether or not the four factions will agree on the nomination of a President of the Supreme National Council.

In neighboring Vietnam, the signing of the Paris peace agreement on Cambodia was quickly followed by a series of events which brought the communist country closer to the normalization of relations with the international community which its involvement in the Cambodian conflict obstructed it.

There was immediate movement towards a state of agreement with the PRC and the ASEAN countries, rapidly followed by progress in restoring full relations with Japan, several important West European countries and Australia.

However, the U.S. is sticking to its timetable for normalization so Vietnam's full integration into the world community may not be restored until 1993 when an elected government is in place in Phnom Penh. The U.S. is now the only barrier to the resumption of IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank lending.

Triggered by the worldwide collapse of the Communist rule and economic pressures, Vietnam also increased relations with other nations by drafting a new Constitution on 30 December 1991 that protects private enterprises but preserves the Communist Party's guiding role. The proposed Constitution codifies some of the capitalist-economic changes adopted by Hanoi since the late 1980s. It ensures the Vietnamese people for the first time the right to own the means of production, to start businesses and to enter joint ventures. Furthermore, the draft was intended to reduce party interference and increase the power of the elected National Assembly. However, the proposed constitution also says that Vietnam is aiming for a "socialist-oriented multisectoral commodity economy driven by the State regulated market system."

Over the last decade, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese citizens have fled to countries like Thailand, Hong Kong, Indonesia, and Malaysia seeking a better way of life. If they cannot be helped there, sometimes the refugees are moved to third countries for permanent resettlement. The war with the rebels has weakened the domestic economy to a point of near deterioration. Having been refused World Bank Loans (IBRD) or help from the IMF and being subjected to international trade sanctions for years, the country has never been able to create a highly developed domestic system or be integrated into the global market for profits. This failure to provide sufficiently for its own citizens was a dominant factor which created the refugee problem plaguing Southeast Asia.

To change the situation at home, Vietnam has been following several new policies. As requested by the UN High Commission for Refugees, the Vietnamese government agreed to repatriate approximately 55,000 of its citizens who fled the country and landed in Hong Kong within the last several years without any fear of persecution at home. Also, by legally increasing the annual quotas for Vietnamese who try to emigrate to another country by 30,000 to 100,000, it appears that Vietnam looks to ease not only some social problems at home, but also a few of the problems endured by Hong Kong, Malaysia,donesia in housing the Vietnamese refugee boat people.

For Vietnam's neighbors, the influx of refugees into their countries is a difficult problem. In the last fourteen years alone, at least two million people are estimated tohave left their native countries, seeking refuge in nearby or overseas states. More than 200,000 Indo-chinese are accounted for and are waiting in UNHCR-assisted refugee camps. As mentioned before, Vietnamese refugees are screened to determine if they are of legitimate refugee status or will be encouraged to be voluntarily repatriated. In various countries, though, refugee and asylum policies vary. The PRC allows for Vietnamese refugees to be settled on state farms in China. In other cases, refugee flight is not just limited to the Vietnamese. Indonesia and the Philippines also shelter refugees in asylum camps. Papua New Guinea houses refugees in closed border camps. Japan gives the displaced persons the option of settling permanently in Japan. Malaysia and South Korea promote resettlement to third countries. Because many of the countries are not able to deal with the economic burden that refugees bring, annually the UNHCR helps cover administrative costs with budget allocations ranging from $124,000 to Macau to more than forty-four million dollars to Hong Kong.

The military staged a successful coup d'etat on 23 February 1991. Army Chief of Staff General Suchinda Kraprayoon detained and overthrew Thailand's directly-elected leader since 1976, Prime Minister Chatichai Choonhavan. The army leader stated that military action was a necessary exercise in protecting democracy and the monarchy.

After forming a junta and naming themselves the National Peacekeeping Council, with General Sunthorn Kongsompong as the leader, the armed forces leaders imposed martial law and censorship, abolished the 1978 Constitution, and met with King Bhumipol Adulyadej immediately after the announcement. The pro-Western junta needed the constitutional monarch's approval to guarantee the success of the coup. The National Peacekeeping Council formed a provisional government within a week after the coup; a new constitution, and elections were held. Oddly enough, in Thailand there did not appear to be overwhelming support or disapproval of the military intervention. Many Thais themselves seemed ambivalent about the situation and understood the outcome as a return to normalcy.

With relatively fair elections on 22 March 1992 and a new five-party government forming, Thailand appears back on the democratic track. However, true democracy in Thailand, with civilian control of the armed forces, continues to be prevented as the military retains ultimate power in this nation of 57 million people. The five pro-military political parties that won a majority of the seats in the parliamentary election, nominated Thailand's top military commander Suchinda Kraprayoon for Prime Minister after the leading civilian candidate was linked by the U.S. to drug trafficking. Army strongmen have held the prime minister's job for 48 of the 60 years since Thailand abandoned absolute monarchy.

Thailand's next paramount concern is building local and international confidence in the new administration. A stable government means foreigners will come with money to invest in Thailand.

The resolution of the Cambodian conflict would also allow the return of at least some of 450,000 Cambodian, Vietnamese, Laotian, and Myanmarese refugees who are in Thailand. Further discussion could lead to a solution to the suppression of popular democracy in Myanmar and the return of the more than 50,000 refugees in Thailand to their homelands.

Myanmar, a country with the prospects for change, has suffered from the government's reluctance to democratize. Formerly recognized as the state of Burma, Myanmar has continued to suppress the people's will.

The junta seems intent on ending the country's several insurgencies. The present offensive against the Karen by the army is fiercer than previous years.

In 1988 when the authoritarian ruler U Ne Win resigned after twenty-six years in power, a referendum was called and U Sein Lwin, a hard-liner with a reputation for crushing unrest was chosen to succeed Ne Win. A few days later, Sein Lwin resigned after protests against him, and was replaced by Maung-Maung Kha. In August, Mr. Maung ended martial law and proposed a referendum to end the one-party rule. In September, one of four opposition groups created to oppose the provisional government, National League for Democracy (NLD) called for national elections.

However, in the same month, Saw Maung, the Defense Minister, removed the government of Maung-Maung Kha, prohibited demonstrations, ordered workers back to their jobs and dissolved all government organizations. The newly-created State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) took over the government of Burma and rechristened the official name of the country to Myanmar. Foreign aid to Myanmar was suspended by UN agencies, the European Economic Community, and most western countries in condemnation of the harsh suppression of the 1988 democracy movement.

Two years later on 27 May 1990, the people of Myanmar went to the polls to vote for the first time in a multi-party election in more than thirty years. With little evidence of fraud, violence, and even intimidation by the SLORC, the national elections proceeded and came up with two big surprises: the National League for Democracy (NLD) led by Aung San Suu Kyi won a resounding 392 out of the 485 contested seats while SLORC's affiliated party, the National Unity Party (NUP), won only ten slots, and the ruling military government has refused to acknowledge and adhere to the results of the election. Although General Saw Maung is recognized as the current ruler, it is believed that former authoritarian leader Ne Win is heavily involved behind the scenes and possibly responsible for the government's reaction. To invalidate and prevent the opposition from using its draw of more than 80% of the vote for changes, SLORC nullified the May election, declaring that it possessed all legislative, judicial, and administrative powers, and placed 18 of the 22 members of the NLD's central committee under arrest, including Aung San Suu Kyi who won the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize.

The military forces have said that they would only transfer power to a civilian government after a new constitution is drafted and approved by a plebescite and the military. SLORC's actions have violated article 21 of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights by not transferring the power to a government voted according to the wishes and will of the people. The ruling junta has a deplorable record in persecuting dissidents and has been condemned by the majority of the outside world.

The Philippines is expecting new leadership with the end of eight years of Aquino rule. All political positions, from president to town council member, are up for grabs. Although there is great political instability, the Philippines is pursuing the democratic society that the people of the Philippines fought hard to re-establish. The May 11 Philippine elections will be the first real presidential polls since 1969.

Nearly a century of U.S. military presence in the Philippines is coming to an end. The U.S. accepted a request from the Philippines to vacate Subic Bay naval base by 31 December 1992, after the collapse of talks between President Corazon Aquino and the "anti-base" Senators. This aimed at a three-year phased withdrawl. The U.S. has already returned the volcano-damaged Clark Air Force Base, along with four other facilities. The Philippines plans to convert the Subic Bay Base, a repair and logistics center of the Seventh Fleet, into a free port.

The ASEAN summit meeting which concluded in Singapore on 28 January 1992, was only the fourth in the Association's 25-year history. Now the six leaders will confer regularly and play a more active role. The biggest step in the Singapore Declaration of 1992 binds the group to form an ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) within fifteen years. The goal is to abolish most intra-regional tariffs and to build a common market.

In another accomplishment, the ASEAN summit called on neighboring countries to join in a Southeast Asian Friendship and Cooperation Treaty. Vietnam and Laos will be admitted to the treaty as a prelude to joining ASEAN. A new Cambodia, as well, is scheduled to sign the treaty after the general election. Previously, the criteria in forming ASEAN specified an alliance of free-market democratic countries. Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Burma are predestined by culture and geography to become a part of ASEAN, provided that their governments by then have acceptable records on human rights. Of course, a common market is impossible without a free-market. So the socialist command economies of Indochina and Burma in their present condition would exclude them from membership. The first new member may well be Cambodia after the U.N.-sponsored elections.

Southeast Asia and the U.N.

In Southeast Asia, the major concerns relate to the settlement of the Cambodian question, the Gulf War, nuclear disarmament, the environment, North/South Economic relations, recognition of fundamental human rights, and the eradication of drug trafficking.

The greatest concern centers on the situation in Cambodia. ASEAN nations have supported the annual resolutions in the General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. Southeast Asian nations also recognize the many problems that lie ahead in Cambodia's transition. They hope the finding of a solution will alleviate the question of refugees throughout Indochina. Although not always a high-priority expressed on Asian country's agendas, Cambodian Vietnamese, Burmese, and Thai refugees will have to be dealt with by their original or host governments.

Another major concern involves the environment and the possibility of declaring Southeast Asia a nuclear-weapon-free-zone in the near future. With the Gulf conflict on many countries' minds, the necessity to limit arms and eliminate weapons of mass destruction has raised interest and perceptions again of how dangerous war can be. Progress made in arms control "would constitute a concrete contribution of the regional states to establish greater peace and stability in their part of the world." Southeast Asian nations also support the Earth Summit Conference held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992.

Relationship between North and South is also named as a priority for Southeast Asia, namely because all of them may be classified as developing countries. With the polemics of east/west politics subsiding, Southeast Asian nations would like to improve their relationship with the Northern industrialized countries. They also have expressed their concern that with the Eastern European communist economies failing, financial assistance earmarked for Southeast Asia may instead be re-routed to give immediate assistance to the formerly centrally-planned economies in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Southeast Asia believes that because economic and social conditions are inextricably linked together, the improvement of economic progress would ameliorate social conditions in the region and vice-versa. The fourth session of the Ad-Hoc Preparatory Committee of the U.N. Decade of Development for the

1990's is currently working on accelerating the development of southern countries. This program is supported by Southeast Asian nations and includes environmental protection, human development, and the alleviation of poverty.

Rounding out the last of the five concerns, illicit drug trafficking, the use of illegal substances, and the increasing cases of drug abuse continue to attract attention on Southeast Asia's agenda. The Seventeenth Special Session of the General Assembly on international co-operation against illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking, and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances illustrates how the region is concerned and working together to stop and eliminate the spread of drug cartels. It is also important to note that the PRC established a drug control conference promoting international cooperation and maintains relations with the UN Division of Narcotic Drugs and other relevant organizations to help eradicate the drug problem throughout Asia.

Regional politics in South Asia

South Asia includes both oriental and middle eastern cultures. The region includes Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

Regional conflicts among states have been persistent problems in South Asia. One of the most important changes over the last couple of years has been the situation in Afghanistan.

After twelve years of civil war, the Republic of Afghan not only has taken practical steps to restore peace, but also is working to normalizing their internal relationships. The cutoff of weapon shipments from the U.S. and the former Soviet Union ended the last surrogate war between the two post-Second World War superpowers, one that began after the Soviet Army occupied Afghanistan in December 1979. The battling factions, however, still involve the Soviet-sponsored regime of President Najibullah, installed in 1986, and the U.S., Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia backed rebels more commonly known as the "Mujahideen."

The U.N. peace plan for Afghanistan seeks to convene an all-party Afghan assembly that would form a provisional government and hold elections. A grand assembly will decide what form the interim government will take. The peace effort gains momentum as leaders strongly advocate that all parties must put national interest above group, party, and factional interests. Despite some problems, the U.N. efforts to restore peace in Afghanistan are gradually succeeding.

To the Central Asian states, peace in Afghanistan is essential for regional stability and prosperity. Prompted by the need to open trade routes through Afghanistan to the Central Asian republics, Pakistan—a key backer of the armed mujahideen resistance—is now looking for economic partnership.

Pakistan has thrown its weight behind the U.N. peace plan, especially as funds for the upkeep of its 4 million Afghan refugees diminish. Pakistan has been providing shelter and aid to Afghan refugees for more than 12 years.

Pakistan also has had to face internal political differences as well as interstate fighting. In November 1990, Pakistan's Islami Jamhoori (IJI) government started its administration with considerable initial advantages: a two thirds majority in the National Assembly, the solid endorsement of both the president and the army, and effective control of all four principal assemblies. However, the authority and credibility of the already fragile eight party coalition has been weakened by the allegations of severe misconduct by some of the ruling elite and the opposition's success in exploiting them. Its cohesiveness has come under threat. The Jamaat-i-Islami led fundamentalist components pressed the much more moderate Muslim League dominated mainstream to accept recent court rulings requiring the Islamic law to take precedence over the constitution and be implemented by mid-year 1992 in matters relating to banking and finance.

A significant achievement of Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's government has been the launching of a comprehensive economic reform program involving privatization and deregulation. These reforms, unprecedented in Pakistan's history, are aimed at creating a liberal economic environment for rapid industrialization and accelerating the pace of economic development. The government is focusing on the promotion of exports and foreign investment in the country.

India has begun the torturous process of transforming its largely state-controlled financial system, abandoning the insularity that has left it economically lagging behind virtually every other Asian country.

The socialist principle on which India was founded in 1947 by its first Prime Minister, Jawaharial Nehru, has been left behind.

In rapid succession, Indian Finance Minister Manmohan Singh ordered a sharp devaluation of the over-valued rupee, a slashing of the Government's budget deficit, and the abolition of a wide range of restrictive licenses on industry. He also cut subsidies to the country's farmers, began the process of closing bankrupt public-sector industries, offered the first tentative proposals for sweeping tax reform, and began energetically seeking foreign investment for his country. With help of more than $3 billion in loans from the IMF and the World Bank, India has survived.

India's economy, burdened with state spending and borrowing, has been a major underlying factor in the nation's recent political turbulence, including the election of three Prime Ministers in the course of 18 months and the assassination last year of Rajiv Gandhi during a national election campaign. The world's largest democracy, India has suffered from ethnic and religious divisions.

In November, the Congress Party government had a good result in a series of by-elections, and its position in Parliament now looks more secure. As expected, the Janata Dal opposition is starting to crumble and the Ajit Singh faction has left the scene. The prime minister (whose majority in one of the by-election set a new world record) has the reputation of being India's best prime minister since Lal Bajadur Shastri, Nehru's short-lived successor, a reputation achieved through a combination of a low key, consensus seeking, decision making style and a bold commitment of economic reform.

The second problem for India is two-fold; the country has been witness to a number of violent clashes in parts of its territories and in the region known as Kashmir. In the eastern state of Assam, more than 5,000 people have been killed in ethnic clashes just within the last few years. When the most recent census reports are announced, it may be found that the Assamese will have been demoted to minority status within their own state in total population. Increased immigration by Bengali-speakers and by Bangladesh citizens, the latter who do not have Indian citizenship, to Assam has changed the state's demographics.

Finally, the Indo-Pakistani discord emanates from the differences between Hindus and Muslims which caused the latter to demand the creation of a separate state for them. This desire resulted in the partitioning of the sub-continent into Pakistan and India during independence in 1947. The dispute has resulted in more than three decades of conflict between India and Pakistan in 1947–48, 1965, and 1971.

After the sub-continent was being partitioned in 1947, the ruler of the states of Jammu and Kashmir, the Maharajah, a Hindu, decided to accede to India, despite the fact that a majority of his population was Muslim. The root of the conflict is seen by both as a territorial dispute and, as Pakistan advocates, a conflict between peoples. Also, the position held by the U.N., that Pakistan claims India illegally annexed the territory without holding a plebescite to decide who would eventually gain control of Jammu and Kashmir. On the other hand, India argues that its only Muslim majority state is legally a part of India and demands that Pakistan evacuate part of the state which it presently occupies. India acknowledges that Kashmir, like other states in India, is subject to federalism. In addition the state has certain privileges to protect its culture and distinctive autonomy as stated in Article 370 of the Constitution.

In Kashmir, however, regardless of how either side perceives the jurisdiction of one government over the territory, the question of violations of human rights needs to be considered in an international forum. Until India and Pakistan are able to come to an international agreement with the Kashmiris, some of whom do not want to become a part of Pakistan, but rather would choose independence, it appears that the Kashmiris will continue to fight against the former, and the two sides will remain divided.

To counterbalance some of South Asia's reluctance to change, Bangladesh and Nepal have begun to move towards more open governments; democracy movements have flourished. In the last twelve months, Bangladesh witnessed the military fall from government and experienced the first elections since the country gained independence in 1971, while Nepal's King turned over his power to a Congress and the country took part in national elections in April 1991.

In October of 1990 in Bangladesh, President Hussain Mohammad Ershad confronted a wave of anti-government protests by closing schools and universities for an indefinite amount of time. In November, when more than five-thousand students demonstrated against the President again, the crowd was put down by government soldiers using batons and tear gas. Soon after, the President declared a state of emergency, banned political activity, and suspended civil rights for an indefinite time period. The President also ordered the arrest of the two women who led the two major opposition groups to his government: Sheik Hasina Wazed of the Awami League and Begum Khaleda Zia of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. When his effort failed to reduce the violence, President Ershad announced his resignation and handed over the power to an opposition-led caretaker government, hoping to quell domestic violence. Less than six days later, the major political parties arrested the former President and demanded that he stand trial for running a "corrupt and illegal government."

From the middle of December until 27 February 1991, Bangladesh prepared for its first open elections after more than two decades of military rule. The national elections included Bangladesh's population of 144 million people and elected to the 330-seat Parliament members of up to 96 parties. In pre-party politicking, the two parties led by two women, Wazed and Zia, were the two front runners. Zia and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party won, but the winner did not gain a clear majority inside the Parliament.

The new Bangladesh National Party (BNP) government has proved much less confident in dealing with its problems than its stated policy objectives would have suggested. Increasingly the government has given in to powerful vested interests opposing aspects of its policy. The government's political will proved particularly weak when discontent was open, and demonstrations on the streets took place or were threatened. This weakness in the face of determined opposition inevitably undermined the government's credibility, in the eyes of both Bangladeshis and the international community, whose aid is so vital.

Lack of effective government meant that the needs of the poorest sectors of society were neglected. The absence of a coherent and consistent policy framework, reliably and fairly put into effect, could lead the country to chaos and mob rule, and leave it vulnerable to a military takeover.

On 15 May 1991, the first free elections in 30 years were held in the capital of the world's only Hindu kingdom, Katmandu, Nepal. Nepal is now a multiparty democracy with a constitutional monarch, King Birendra, the tenth king in the Shah dynasty. The partyless panchayat system of government, which King Birendra's father imposed in 1960, was swept away in April 1990 following three months of pro-democracy demonstrations. On April 8th, King Birendra lifted the 39 year ban on political parties and the word "partyless" was removed from the constitution. The National Panchayat (Assembly) was dissolved a week later, its place the king appointed an all party interim government, until a new constitution could be written and free elections held.

Under the panchayat the king was advised by a Council of Ministers, appointed by the prime minister, and by his palace secretariat. These two sets of political advisers were in effect two centers of political power over which the monarch acted as ultimate authority. The Council of Ministers was made up of members of the National Panchayat (Assembly), which consisted of 140 members, of whom 112 were elected by the people and the rest nominated by the king. Instead of political parties, a monolithic three tier system of village/town, district, and national assemblies whose candidates were connected with the palace.

For the last fourteen years, Sri Lanka has been plagued with domestic fighting. It began when Tamil separatists began their quest for independence from the predominantly Sinhalese government. Based in the northern city of Jaffna, the Tamil Tiger Guerrillas have been trying to create a homeland called "Eelam," because they feel that they are being discriminated against by the Buddhist Sinhalese government. The Tamil Tigers are Hindu and represent only eighteen percent of the total population of Sri Lanka. In 1983, however, the scope of the conflict began to affect all islanders when a guerrilla ambush killed thirteen soldiers and incited waves of Sinhalese violence against Tamils and their property. By 1985 the dispute had formed into an all-out civil war. In 1987 India sent a 9,000-member peacekeeping force on invitation from the Sri Lankan government to serve as a buffer between the two groups. This effort failed as Indian troops were drawn into the fighting. Since 1978 more than 14,000 people have died, as Tamil separatists have attempted to gain independence. According to an international human rights group, as many as 60,000 people may have disappeared in southern Sri Lanka just since 1987, when security forces responded to what the government termed a "leftist campaign of terror."

The political and, to a substantial extent, the economic future of Sri Lanka is overshadowed by three separate but related uncertainties. The first is the outcome of the conflict in the north: whether, when it is over, Sri Lanka can find a political and social structure that will ensure peace and provide the basis for a stable and basically harmonious society. Although remnants of the Tigers could well remain hidden in the jungle with significant disruptive and terrorist capability for years to come, it seems increasingly certain that the armed forces will soon finally defeat the Tamil Tigers, recapture Jaffna and enable some form of civil administration to be restored throughout the island. Boosted by the arrival of new weapons and equipment, the army should be able to attack Jaffna. Taking Jaffna will not be easy and could involve much civilian and combatant bloodshed. But, whatever the cost, the army seems certain to win eventually.

Finding a political solution to the Tamil problem will remain as difficult as ever. In the view of their past record, negotiations with the Tigers seem unpromising. The Thondaman proposals are causing resentment among the Sinhalese population, and the obviously less favorable treatment they offer the Sinhalese population in the Eastern province, compared with the Muslims, offer even less reason to proceed. Nevertheless, at some stage, a workable political formula must be found.

South Asia and the U.N.

Although South Asia does not traditionally follow nor adhere to a unified agenda when compared to other Asian and Pacific countries in the U.N.. Howevre, the Gulf War, the control of nuclear weapons and disarmament, international debt and economy, big state versus small state issues, and the environment are dominant concerns for the region addressed in the United Nations.

The Gulf War has had dramatic effects on South Asian states. The threat of aggression and the use of increasingly sophisticated weapons has had an influence on promoting international peace and security and eliminating the threat of nuclear weapons. The conversion of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban

Treaty into a comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty is welcomed by South Asian nations.

South Asia is also worried about the big state versus small state confrontations. Generally, they look towards the UN as the protector of smaller countries' rights, especially when threatened by larger, aggressive neighbors. The nearly unanimous UN Gulf War resolutions near unanimity in strongly condemning Iraq's illegal acts of aggression on its smaller neighbor illustrate this fact. South Asian states, like many other smaller countries, view the U.N. as a forum where each member is represented with an equal vote, regardless of its size.

With the increased threat of global environmental damage on the rise, South Asian nations welcomed the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development which was held in Rio de Janeiro in June of 1992.

Regional politics in the South Pacific

In the last region to be discussed, there are three major states; Australia, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea (PNG) and a number of smaller island nations, territories, and dependencies like Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa which comprise the biggest geographical division known as the South Pacific. With such a vast difference in size, population, and governments, the South Pacific is filled with diversity. In addition to the indigenous aboriginal Melanesian, Micronesian, and Polynesian populations, there have been substantial influxes of settlers, mainly of British, Indian, Chinese and Vietnamese decent in these countries. As a region, Australia's, New Zealand's, PNG's, and Fiji's broad-based economies account for the richness of resources in the South Pacific. Australia and New Zealand both produce foodstuffs and wool. Additionally, Australia exports iron ore and minerals, and possesses one-third of the world's known uranium deposits. PNG exports timber, precious and semi-precious metals, coffee, copper, and rubber. Fiji has the additional wealth of sugar, gold and, along with the Solomon Islands, timber. Although many of the other smaller islands produce goods very typical of a tropical climate, namely coconut and palm oils, copra and fruit, these countries are not resource rich and therefore, depend highly on marine resources. The smallest island states require special recognition and attention in order to address their development problems and needs.

Because the South Pacific differs so much from the other regions previously discussed, it perhaps would be best to look at the South Pacific with regards to issues, instead of trying to look at each and every individual country.

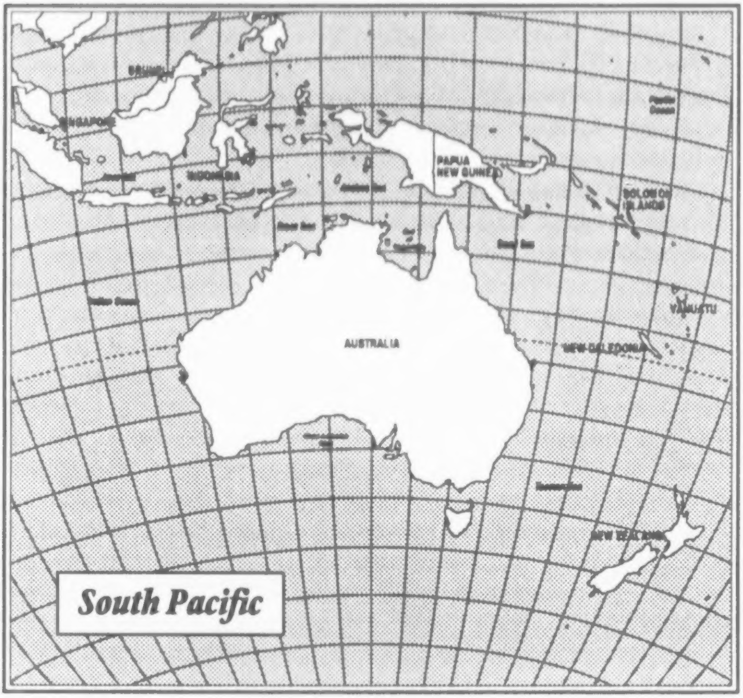
As new world trade patterns emerge in the wake of the demise of the Eastern bloc, there are important economic implications for the South Pacific islands. The renegotiation of the GATT seems likely to result either in radical changes to agricultural support policies or in the reinforcement of the trend toward trading blocs. If the new GATT arrangements lower barriers against agricultural imports, the island countries would not necessarily benefit. They would probably lose some of the concessions that they currently enjoy in their trading trough Sparteca, the Lome convention and other agreements. If the world moves toward trading blocs, the islands' strategy may be to remain relatively aloof, trying to secure such concessions as they can from the major blocs. So far, there is no obvious bloc to which the island countries could join. Possibly, an Asian bloc might see the South Pacific Forum as a ready-made partner. However, discussions on regional cooperation in Asia-Pacific are still at an early stage, with differences over the membership of the grouping still unresolved.

Another important issue in the region is the protection and preservation of the environment. Because of the almost total dependence of many Pacific Island countries on the sea, continued nuclear testing by France, indiscriminate exploitation of marine resources by driftnet fishing and the effects of global warming seriously threaten these resources.

The South Pacific's anti-nuclear position was codified in the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (SPNFZ) by affirming its position of prohibiting nuclear experiments and the dumping of any radioactive materials on the islands or in the regional waters. Notably, the Soviet Union and the PRC signed and ratified the key protocols of the treaty. The UK and the US have stated that they are not acting in any manner which would be inconsistent with the Raratonga Treaty, while France has given additional assurances related to nuclear weapons as well.

Raratonga does fall short of barring the passage of nuclear armed warships through the region. In 1985 David Lange, then Prime Minister of New Zealand, refused docking privileges to a U.S. naval vessel which declined to confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons on board. New Zealand claimed its right to make a confidential assessment of the probability of certain weaponry being transported on any ship which came into its territory. The US stated that it did not want the entire world to know which of its ships were carrying nuclear warheads. The assessment and subsequent docking would threaten American nuclear capability by letting opposition know that the ship did not possess nuclear weapons. The Primer Minster's demand and the U.S. refusal to comply, effectively abrogated the Australia/New Zealand/U.S. pact (ANZUS) and led to the US suspension of its security obligations to New Zealand indefinitely. At present, Australia maintains full and normal relations with the U.S. continuing to allow American naval vessels access to Australian ports and undertaking joint military maneuvers. In a side note, it is important to note that New Zealand and the U.S. also have friendly and normal relations, except for the pre-mentioned dispute.

Because of vigorous albacore tuna fishing in the South Pacific by the U.S. and a growing number of Asian states, however, relations between smaller island states have sometimes been strained. While a few fishing agreements have been signed between the USSR, Fiji, Vanuatu, and Kiribati, there still exists a growing concern that various countries' fishing boats are depleting the South Pacific's ocean resources too quickly. Many South Pacific countries are worried that the commercial fishing industry, a major source of revenue for the island states, will be adversely affected by the outsiders' over-exploitation



of the seas.

In recent years, cooperation and mutual benefits have been pursued between the countries in Asia and the Pacific. Australia has been making strong efforts to work more closely with Japan to create a "constructive partnership." A benefit to uniting and securing the region economically and politically would be the integration of the region's economies as a whole. Australia has also improved relations with the Philippines, Indonesia, China, Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) of the Asian Tigers, and ASEAN countries by sending more than half of its exports and receiving forty-percent of its imports to and from them respectively. While Japan receives a large supply of food and raw materials from the South Pacific, Japan continues to assist many of the small, developing Pacific island states. Australia and Japan share mutual basic security interests as well. Both countries recognize the U.S. presence in the region as being important over the last few decades. Because of the uncertainty of political events in the ex-Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Asia and the Pacific itself, Australia and Japan want the American profile to remain at an appropriate level in the future to help ensure peace.

The U.S. and the former USSR also have various levels of interests in the South Pacific region. When in 1986, the ex-Soviet Union voiced its role as a natural participant in the region by signing numerous fishing agreements, holding Soviet supported forums for creating educational ties and exercising other forms of cultural diplomacy, Soviet interaction skyrocketed in relative terms to what it had been before. However, due in part to domestic Soviet problems and the end of the Cold War, the former USSR has not continued to press for expanded ties in the South Pacific. As a number of the few original agreements have not been renewed, it may be argued that their ties to the region are relatively low. The U.S. presence in the region is marked by its strategic military bases in the Philippines and Singapore, and the U.S. missile testing site and electronic surveillance operation on the Marshall Islands and Australia. The US also is underpinned by its aid and development programs to the region and dependent territories like American Samoa. Like the Soviets faced with domestic spending concerns and the end of the Cold War, the U.S. level of action will also undergo some changes in the near future.

The island shared by Papua New Guinea (PNG) and the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya continues to have conflict. PNG has been flooded by refugees from the Free West Papua movement (OPM) who oppose Indonesian rule of the western part of the island. The proximity of the refugees to the Indonesian border has brought complaints from Jakarta. The two states signed a friendship agreement in late 1986 stating that neither would harbor nor in any way aid the enemies of the other. In 1986, PNG appealed to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees to determine the status of the refugees held in the border camps. PNG stated that it would return all who were not found to be in genuine danger of persecution. However, PNG has yet to implement this policy. Following reports of border clashes in which Indonesian troops crossed the Papuan border, PNG has made a number of formal protests to Indonesia. To defuse the tension along the northern border, PNG conducted an airlift in May 1988, moving 1,000 refugees from the South Blackwater camp on the border to a settlement further inland. Although the refugees were offered repatriation, fifteen refugees were voluntarily repatriated between January and September of 1990, while more than 3,500 remain in closed border camps as of December 1990.

Also within PNG, fighting largely has stopped as secessionist rebels on Bougainville Island have signed a peace agreement on 24 January 1991, at Honiara, the Solomon Islands. The peace declaration ended twenty-six months of violence and is working towards creating a multinational task force of Commonwealth states to monitor the agreement. In this debate, the two biggest obstacles will be convincing the rebels to lay down their arms, as a part of the peace agreement, and finding countries which will commit to joining the multinational observation force.

The first coups in the region occurred in Fiji in 1987 after an April election that would have empowered a leftist coalition representing predominantly the immigrant Indian population. This coalition was kept from taking office by two coups in May and September of 1987, led by Lt. Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka, representing the native Melanesian population. When Rabuka was going to declare Fiji a republic and he announced that Fiji would no longer acknowledge the monarchy, the country let its membership in the Commonwealth lapse. Rabuka declared Fiji a republic and then the former Governor General assumed the office of the Presidency. While there is an opposition movement, the regime has so far been able to maintain order and create a racially based constitution.

The South Pacific and the U.N.

While the region expresses comparative solidarity in the international forum, it is important to note that on voting issues, Australia and New Zealand tend to vote with industrialized countries, while the island states will support the developing countries (NAM, Group of 77). This region has clearly indicated its stand on the Gulf War, the environment, the economy and independence.

The principle of a larger state attacking and attempting to annex a smaller neighbor state emerged as an important concern for many of the South Pacific countries. South Pacific was preoccupied not only with the idea of collective security to thwart aggression, but also human rights and the settlement for future peace. The region wholeheartedly backed the Security Council resolutions created to achieve and then maintain international peace and security.

The environment is also an extremely important issue for the South Pacific. Global concerns for the region include a continued strong stance against nuclear development and arms around the world as well as environmental degradation. While the South Pacific countries appreciate efforts by industrial nuclear states to reduce their stockpiles of chemical weapons, they protest the continuation of the region being used as a testing ground and the possibility that the U.S. may decide to use some atolls to destroy the weapons previously stockpiled in Germany, as a chemical weapons destruction site. Global warming is another major consideration for the smaller island states. The possibility of the ocean rising just half a meter in height due to gas emissions by industrialized states would effectively place a number of islands under water and jeopardize the lives of their citizens. South Pacific states also push for stricter environmental enforcement measures to be placed on the international community to help prevent the depletion of natural resources found in the oceans. The elimination of driftnet fishing is an important platform for Pacific nations.

To achieve some of the above demands, South Pacific countries also call for a cooperation between environmental and economic development policies. Australia calls for coordination among developmental agenciesas a necessary means to achieve a goal of 'sustainable development.' Australia and New Zealand have been hoping for success in the Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations to break protectionism and subsidization by major economic powers, especially in the area of agricultural trade. Failure to achieve success in the GATT talks could hurt many South Pacific economies and could result in a trade war. The South Pacific supports the idea of "burden sharing" where the more economically strong industrialized states would support Least Developed Countries (LDCs) as well.

UNDP has established a South Pacific Project Facility, jointly funded by Australia, Japan, Canada, and other countries. The aim of the project is to reduce individual countries' aid-dependence by promoting the growth of small and medium-size businesses by helping potential entrepreneurs, particularly women. The location of the project's administration and the minimum size of eligible proposals are currently being discussed. With the limited funds available, the UNDP is rethinking its strategy for encouraging the indigenous economy.

Decolonization and independence are big issues among the smaller Pacific island states. Most of the territories still on the U.N.'s list of Non-Self Governing Territories are found in the Pacific. France, U.K., and the U.S. are still administering powers. France has said that it would grant independence to New Caledonia if the majority of the population wants it. Self-determination can result in conclusions other than full independence, and the pace of change for such small territories may best be left for the inhabitants themselves to determine. A problem which exists here and in a number of smaller dependent states is that some countries are not in the position financially to be independent. Instead they may chose to not become fully independent.

In 1987, Fiji led a campaign to have New Caledonia declared a Non-Self-Governing Territory, a designation that would put France in violation of the U.N. charter for interfering with the right to self-determination. The resolution was supported by all the South Pacific countries, and was passed by the General Assembly. The 1988 Malignon-Oudinot Accords agreed to cooperate for economic and social development for a ten year period beginning in that same year. In 1998, a vote will be held on the island to determine whether or not independence will be gained. The nations of the South Pacific are expected to press for increased latitude in the administration of New Caledonia.

Independence is an issue for the only remaining Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Republic of Palau, which is still administered under U.S. authority through the U.N. Trusteeship Council. In 1980, negotiations between the Trust Territory and the U.S. resulted in an agreement for the future self-government of the islands under a Compact of Free Association with the U.S. This compact must obtain approval from the U.S. Congress and a Palau plebiscite before it will go into effect.

Palau's progress toward self-government has been delayed by a 1988 Palau Supreme Court decision that the plebiscite approval of the pact in 1987 was invalid due to procedural deficiencies. The U.S. has continued to pursue its approval of the pact as legislation authorizing the pact has already been approved by the Senate and is waiting for approval from the House of Representatives.

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Europe

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in July 1989 and the collapse of communist regimes in the east, Europe has been in transition. This was shown in October 1990 when the two parts of Germany, divided as a consequence of cold war rivalries, were united, irreversibly altering the political map of Europe. Changes were formally recognised that month when 34 countries from Vancouver (Canada) to Vladivostok (Russia) signed the "Charter of Paris for a New Europe" officially closing the European chapter of the cold war. However, these transformations have been far from static and their consequences have reverberated throughout Europe and the World.

To the east, the sudden break-up of the Soviet Union has been one of the most dramatic events of the post cold war era. Following an attempted coup in August 1991, the Congress of People's Deputies passed a law transferring political power from the Soviet center to the Republics. This was confirmed on December 25 1991 when the Red Flag was drawn down from over the seat of the Soviet Government, the Kremlin, marking the demise of the Soviet Union. With one fell swoop the Soviet Union had been dissolved as a unitary federal state and replaced by a loose confederation of 15 independent republics. At the same time Gorbachev recognised political reality and stepped down from the now obsolete position of President of the Supreme Soviet, leaving Russia's President, Boris Yeltsin, to assume the responsibilities of the former USSR.

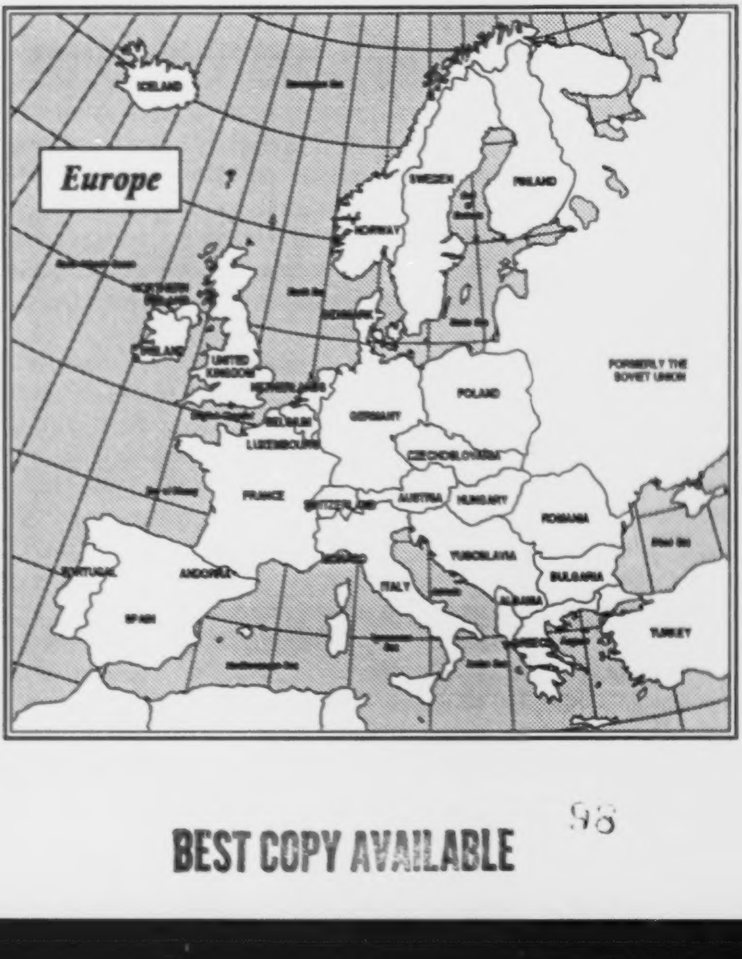
A similar, though more violent disintegration is occurring in the former Yugoslavia where nationalist pressures have led four republics to break away from the Yugoslav federation, with Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina now internationally recognized as independent states and Macedonia seeking independence. Here the republics of Serbia and Montenegro have sought to continue the functions of the residual Yugoslav state.

The collapse of communist ideology in eastern Europe has thrown open divisions in the region and has led to the reemergence of suppressed ethnic conflicts, particularly in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. In the former Yugoslavia, strife between the warring republics has left at least 5,000 people dead and more than half a million people homeless. The extreme violence of the conflict has necessitated the dispatch of a 14,000 strong U.N.

peacekeeping force to the region. In the former Soviet Union, many interstate borders between the now independent republics are under dispute and ethnic conflicts have already occurred in Moldova while fighting continues in the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabach.

The demise of communism in eastern Europe has been followed by the collapse of the military and economic regional organizations that formerly supported the region (the Warsaw Pact and CMEA respectively). Here the fledgling democracies of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary are anxious to foster ties with the richer states of western Europe in order to smooth their already painful adjustments to liberal market economies. In this region, the initial joy at political liberation is fast giving way to pessimism and disenchantment.

While remaining stable, western Europe has not escaped the transformations that have occurred amidst its eastern neighbours. The unification of Germany has fundamentally altered the balance of power in western Europe and has strengthened the desire for institutional consolidation of the Europe-


Europe
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NORWAY
NORTHERN IRELAND
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NETHERLANDS
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FORMERLY THE SOVIET UNION
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an Community shown at Maastricht, the Netherlands, in December 1991. The economic success of the European Community has attracted its neighbours, with outside states increasingly seeking membership of this restricted organization. The east European states hope that disintegration in the east will lead to eventual reintegration in the institutions of western Europe.

'Europe,' as a historical, organizational, political and cultural concept, largely transcends a geographical definition. To the north of Europe lie the Nordic countries of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden and the newly independent ex-Soviet Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. West of central Europe are the Benelux countries (Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands), together with France, Ireland, and the United Kingdom and the microstates of Monaco and Andorra. Austria, the united Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and the tiny Principality of Liechtenstein make up central Europe with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the newly independent Slovenia and Croatia to the east. Southern Europe is made up of the Iberian peninsula (Spain and Portugal) to the west while the Italian peninsula straddles the divide between central and southern Europe, containing the 24 square mile independent republic of San Marino and the Holy See, the Vatican City State and sovereign territory of the Pope situated in the center of Rome. In south east Europe lie the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro. To the south and east are the Balkan states of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Turkey, the latter often considered to stretch beyond the periphery of Europe. Offshore to the west and east respectively lie the Mediterranean islands of Malta and Cyprus.

The breakup of the Soviet Union into 15 independent republics has further complicated the question of where to the east lie the boundaries of Europe. The westernmost republics of the ex-Soviet Union, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine are integrally linked to Europe as is the vast Russian Federation, straddling Europe and Asia and accounting for half of the population of the former USSR. To the south of Russia lie the Trans-Caucasian independent states of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, together with the Central Asian independent states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, all of which retain residual linkages to Moscow but geographically form part of Asia, underlining the uncertainties of a geographical concept of Europe.

Regional organizations

During the postwar period Europe has been largely perceived in terms of its regional organizations, which have until recently divided countries according to their political and ideological systems. However with the collapse of communism in eastern Europe, the institutions of western Europe have emerged as the dominant regional organizations, resulting in increased integration in the west and fragmentation and a politico-strategic vacuum to the east.

By far the most complex of the regional organizations in Europe remains the European Community (EC), an unprecedented example of regional integration. Although the EC is widely perceived as an economic organization, it has its early beginnings in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) of 1951, an attempt to overcome the historic rivalry between France and Germany which had resulted in three major wars in Europe in 80 years by the pooling of their basic war making materials, coal and steel. As such the ECSC is essentially political in character, witnessed by the European idealism of its original signatories, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

In 1957 the six governments agreed to complement the ECSC with organizations to institute a general common market between member states and an atomic energy pool, leading directly to the creation, through the Treaty of Rome, of the European Economic Community (EEC) and Euratom. Together these three organizations form the European Community (EC). The 1957 Treaty of Rome, the legal framework of the EC, stipulates that membership of the Community is open to all democratic and peace-loving states in Europe prepared to accept the legal standards of the EC or what is known as the 'aquis communitaire'. As a result, in 1973, EC membership was extended to Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland with Norway also negotiating membership but deciding not to join. In 1981, as a direct result of the demise of its dictatorial regime, Greece acceded to the EC while Spain and Portugal joined on similar grounds in 1986. In the latter three cases the EC member states envisaged membership of the Community as a way to keep these countries in the 'western camp' and to protect their newly emerged democracies. Parallells can clearly be drawn here with the nascent democracies of east and central Europe in the 1990's. In 1990 the German Democratic Republic became part of the EC through unification, though no provisions were made for increased representation in the EC for the enlarged German state.

Since its inception the EC has been a balance between the desire of member states to integrate their governmental systems and their wish to retain political and economic sovereignty. This explains the somewhat uneven evolution of the EC since 1957 and the attention focussed within the Community on institutional change. The EC is made up of four main bodies, the European Commission, the European Court of Justice, the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers. Of these, the Council of Ministers is the main negotiating forum. Here decisions are reached between representatives of the governments of member states with membership of the Council determined by the subject matter under question. Although member states retain the power of veto in the Council, there is an increasing trend to take decisions by qualified majority vote, introducing an element of supranationalism into an otherwise intergovernmental organization.

The Commission, the European Parliament and the Court of Justice are the so-called European institutions since powers in specific and limited areas of legislation have been transferred to these organizations by member states. In particular the Commission has been described by its President, Jacques Delors, as a 'European government in embryo' as once legislation is transferred to its competence, then laws formulated by the Commission are legally binding on member states and come under the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice as well as the national high courts of member states. The directly elected European Parliament has a primarily advisory, supervisory and budgetary role although there is currently pressure within the EC to expand its functions.

The EC is active in a wide range of policy areas, from the creation of a Single European Market among its member states (the 1992 program) where the free movement of goods and the factors of production (labor, capital and enterprise) are ensured, to the framing of agricultural and commercial policies. The European Commission is responsible for the common commercial policy of its member states and participates as an individual body in fora such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The Commission also maintains a network of ties with outside states, negotiating agreements with 69 African and Caribbean countries through the Lome Conventions and coordinating international aid to eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The EC maintains an international presence with official delegations in over 100 outside states. In December 1991, the EC member states furthered their commitment to deeper European integration in the Maastricht Treaty, a revision of the Treaty of Rome, committing member states (except the United Kingdom who negotiated a special release) to a single European currency by January 1999 at the latest as a vital step to Economic and Monetary Union. However, the Maastricht Treaty has still to be ratified by all twelve EC member states before coming into force.

Although foreign affairs have remained predominantly the preserve of member states, negotiated on an intergovernmental basis through the mechanism of European Political Cooperation (EPC) where the Presidency of EPC rotates among member states every six months and speaks for the Community only on those occasions where a common position has been found, the Maastricht agreement institutionalised a common foreign and security policy and suggested an increasing defense identity for the EC. In this way the EC has concentrated on deepening its level of integration as a prerequisite to widening its membership to outside states. Nonetheless, the question of enlargement is a priority issue on the EC's political agenda, as Turkey, Cyprus, Malta, Austria, Sweden and Finland have already applied for membership and many eastern European and former Soviet states have indicated their hope to join. Clearly, the prosperous EC, with 345 million people, a combined GDP of just over $6 trillion a year and 39% of all world exports, exerts a magnetic pull on the wider European region.

The European Free Trade Area (EFTA) was founded in 1960 as a direct response to the creation of the EC. Its original members, for differing economic and political reasons not wishing to undertake the obligations of membership of the European Community, nevertheless sought the economic benefits of increased liberalization of trade. EFTA was therefore an economic organization, instituting a free trade area between its member states. Today, EFTA's membership spans seven of the most prosperous western European states, Austria, Finland, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland of which all but two states (Norway and Iceland) follow a policy of neutrality.

An industrial free trade area between the EC and EFTA has been in place since 1973 when two of EFTA's founding members, Denmark and the United Kingdom, left the organization to join the EC. Portugal also later left EFTA to join the Community. In the late 1980's the deepening of economic ties between EFTA and the EC (in 1989 the EC accounted for 59% of EFTA's imports and 56% of its exports) led to a desire for stronger economic links between the two organizations, and the negotiation of the European Economic Area (EEA). The EEA creates a free market in goods, services and capital between EFTA and the EC, linking the two organizations through constant consultation and common institutions. Once ratified by member states, the EEA is due to come into force in January 1993 and will constitute the largest free market in the industrialized world. However, the EEA has proved insufficient for Austria, Finland, Switzerland and Sweden who see it as a stepping stone to full EC membership and have already applied for membership in the Community.

With the disintegration of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) the rival communist political and trading organization to the EC, the east European states of Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania (Albania left CMEA in the 1960's) and the states of the former Soviet Union have experienced an absence of regional economic cooperation. In January 1991 the switch to hard currency settlements in inter-CMEA trade led to the virtual collapse of Soviet trade with eastern Europe, hastening the disbandment of the organization in June 1991. For the eastern European states this has led to severe dislocation of foreign trade and has exacerbated already grave economic difficulties. For the ex-Soviet states, the collapse of CMEA has been compounded by the break-up of the Soviet Union, entailing a sudden rupture in established trading patterns between the newly independent republics.

The response of the eastern European states and the former Soviet republics to the break-up of inter-CMEA trade has been twofold; firstly, to attempt to deepen their association with the institutions of western Europe and secondly to intensify efforts to find new forms of regional cooperation. This has led to the emergence of new European multilateral organizations. One such example is the Hexagonal Group, a six state grouping made up of Austria, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the war-torn Yugoslavia, renamed in January 1992 the Central European Initiative with Croatia and Slovenia invited to participate as observers. Other organizations include the geographically delineated Baltic Council, whose membership extends to the Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden), Germany, Poland and Russia and the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), which held its inaugural meeting in Copenhagen, Denmark in March 1992.

In the place of the now defunct Soviet Union, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) groups together 11 of the 15 successor states of the Soviet Union. The three Baltic States and Georgia remain outside the organization. Formed out of the ruins of the Soviet Union, the CIS was created to maintain cohesion among the newly independent republics, and its functions include preserving economic ties among its member states, the equitable division of property, handling of national conflicts and the maintenance of common services and security. However, following acrimonious disputes between its two most powerful members, Russia and Ukraine, and a divisive meeting of CIS Heads of State in Kiev in March 1992, it appears unlikely that in its present form the CIS will remain a durable regional organization.

Although largely outside the scope of this section, the Central Asian ex-Soviet states have also been involved in the formation of new regional groupings. For example, in February 1992, the Economic Cooperation Organization founded by Iran, Turkey and Pakistan in 1963, was rejuvenated at a meeting in Teheran, where membership of the organization was extended to five of the largely Muslim ex-Soviet republics, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan. A sixth state, Kazakhstan, attended the meeting as an observer. The aims of the Economic Cooperation Council are to promote regional economic cooperation and Islamic solidarity.

With the disbandment of the Warsaw Pact (the eastern European and Soviet collective security organization) in 1991, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has emerged as the dominant military organization in Europe.

Created in 1949 as a response to Cold War tensions, NATO's membership today spans all EC member states except Ireland, together with the United States, Canada, Norway, Iceland and Turkey. A turning point for NATO occurred in 1990 when the Soviet Union allowed the German Democratic Republic to become part of the western military organization following German unification, thus enabling a former NATO adversary to enter the collective security pact.

The uncertainties of NATO's role in the post cold war era have led the EC states to consider new approaches to their military security and to reorient their attention towards the West European Union (WEU). Founded in 1954, but inactive for a long time, the WEU is seen as a military link between the EC and NATO with its membership covering all EC states with the exception of Greece, Denmark and Ireland. At the EC Summit in December 1991, it was agreed that WEU should be linked to the institutions of the EC European Union and that its membership should be open to all EC states. The WEU's secretariat is due to be moved from London to Brussels in 1992, bringing it closer to both NATO headquarters and the European Commission.

Changes in the European security structure have also been reflected in the inauguration in December 1991 of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), created as a forum for political consultation between former east-west adversaries under the aegis of NATO. The 35– member NACC groups together all members of NATO and former Warsaw Pact, including the newly independent states of the exSoviet Union. Since its formation, the NACC has met regularly to discuss for example responses to the crisis in Nagorno-Karabach and serves as an example of the increased openess and partnership between East and West on military and strategic issues.

A similar pan European grouping has emerged in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) founded in Helsinki in 1975 as a forum for negotiation between East and West on defense, trade and human rights issues. The original 35-member organization has expanded its membership to 52 states (May 1992) with the admission of the successor states of the USSR (except Georgia which has yet to join the CSCE) and now spans North America, Europe (including the neutral Nordic states and Ireland) and parts of central Asia. Japan has also requested observer status at the CSCE. Since the Paris Summit of 1990, the CSCE has become increasingly institutionalized with the setting up of a small secretariat, a conflict prevention center, an elections office and a parliamentary assembly and it is taking on a growing political and diplomatic identity. The CSCE serves as an important forum in Europe for setting standards for the establishment and preservation of free societies, for enhancing economic cooperation and environmental protection, for the political resolution of disputes and the framing of confidence and security building measures designed to diffuse regional tensions. The CSCE has also proved a useful framework for the integration of the former republics of the Soviet Union into the European system and for the protection of collective rights of national minorities, particularly in the ex-communist east. However the CSCE lacks a military capability and its rule of consensus prevents it from imposing a course of action on or against a member state.

A further regional organization is the Council of Europe, founded in 1949 with its headquarters in Strasbourg, France. The Council of Europe is committed to the principles of parliamentary democracy and human rights and is the depository of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The Council can be considered the real standard setter of human rights in Europe since a state must undertake binding commitments to qualify for membership which can then be suspended if it fails to comply with its obligations. The Council of Europe is also concerned with questions of health, migration, law, education, culture and the environment.

As of early 1992, the Council has 26 members, including all western European countries and Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Council's acceptance of these eastern European countries recognizes their commitment to democracy, and human rights and serves as a natural bridge for their reintegration into the institutions of western Europe. Bulgaria and Romania have special status in the Council and may soon be admitted as members.

Other regional groupings in Europe include the Nordic Council whose membership spans Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland, reflecting the high level of cooperation between these states.

Besides these regional organizations, most European states take part in international multilateral fora. Examples include the Group of Seven (G7) industrialized states, made up of Germany, France, Italy , Great Britain, Japan , USA and Canada, which meets annually to coordinate economic policy and the 24-member Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). All European and former Soviet States with the exceptions of Switzerland and Georgia are also members of the United Nations.

Regional politics of western Europe

All west European countries are pluralist democracies although political systems vary from state to state according to governmental structures, degree of centralization and voting procedures. In Germany and Italy the voting procedures encourage coalition governments whereas in Britain and Spain single party rule has been the norm. The states of western Europe enjoy a high level of bilateral and multilateral regional cooperation.

For the EC member states in particular, German unification has dramatically altered the political balance in western Europe. Prior to unification,the Federal Republic of Germany, while economically the most powerful state in western Europe, was politically constrained by its unique status as a divided nation and by its war time history as an axis power. For historical and constitutional reasons, the Federal Republic has adopted a deliberately regional foreign policy, taking only a minor role in international affairs and acting through the EC framework in its foreign policy initiatives. However, after unification,the enlarged united Germany has adopted an increasingly independent and proactive position in world politics. This was indicated by former Foreign Minister Hans Genscher in a recent address to the U.N. General Assembly, "We Germans regard the greater weight of our people united in one state as a mandate to assume greater responsibility for freedom, democracy and human rights in a European Germany which has put behind it the nation state thinking of the past." This was illustrated in December 1991 when Germany recognised the independence of Croatia and Slovenia (two ex-Yugoslav republics) ahead of its EC partners, despite the reservations of the U.K. and France. As the largest single country in western Europe and Europe's primary economic power (alone accounting for 27% of EC GDP) Germany has emerged as the crucial state in Europe with its pivotal geopolitical position between east and west ensuring it will remain a dominant force in shaping the politics of western Europe.

German unification has important implications for the other states of western Europe. For France in particular, unification has touched on the close Franco-German relationship which in the post war era has enabled France to assume a political weight in Europe disproportionate with its economic strength. The united Germany's close relationship with the ex-communist states of east and central Europe had further concerned France and raised fears of political marginalization following the almost inevitable extension of the European Community to the North and East. France, as a strong advocate of European integration in which it plays a leading political role, is concerned to maintain its close relations with Germany and to integrate the enlarged Germany into a politically and economically united European Community. This has been accepted by Germany, illustrated by former Foreign Minister Genscher's statement that, "the 'yes' from Europe to German unity must be followed by a 'yes' to Europe from Germany." The desire to anchor Germany into the institutions of western Europe was a factor for the convening of the EC Heads of Government Summit in December 1991, which agreed to a greater degree of economic and political integration between the states of western Europe.

While Franco-German relations have been central to the evolution of the EC, the United Kingdom also plays an important regional role. The U.K., which supports increased economic cooperation between the independent states of Europe, remains skeptical of the value of further political and social integration. As such the U.K.'s vision of Europe is different to that of France, leading to a controversial debate in western Europe over the future direction of the European Community. Italy is also an important regional actor although its ability to influence the European debate has been hampered by the instability of its domestic political system.

For the smaller states of western Europe, the EC constitutes a major focus of political activity. Whereas the Benelux countries' interests are largely confined to the EC framework, Denmark and Greece retain important ties outside of the EC states, due to geopolitical links with Nordic countries and the Balkan states respectively. Greece's close involvement with the Balkan region has recently interfered with west European policy on recognition of the independence of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia to which Greece has strongly objected due to sensitivity over the new state's choice of name.

Differences exist between the west European states on a variety of political and economic issues. For example, the largely agricultural regions of France, Germany, Spain, Portugal and Ireland favor an extensive agricultural support system as part of the EC whereas this is opposed by the U.K. which has a small and competitive agricultural sector. The funding of the EC budget is also a source of tension, as Germany, the largest net contributor to the budget and itself suffering the economic strains of unification, is increasingly unwilling to maintain its large contribution to EC funds. The poorer southern European countries such as Spain and Portugal also fear the flow of funds from the south towards the new democracies of east and central Europe, leading these countries to campaign for increased regional funds to enable the poorer EC regions to catch up economically with the richer states. The Portuguese Prime Minister has recently indicated that Portugal will not allow the widening of the EC to EFTA states (a cause supported by Germany) until the EC budget for the coming five year period has been agreed. Other priority issues for EC states include the framing of a common policy on immigration, necessitated by the Single Market Programme which will eliminate border controls between EC states.

The end of the cold war has undermined the rationale for the doctrine of neutrality adhered to by the EFTA neutral states, Austria, Finland, Liechtenstein, Sweden and Switzerland, leading them to see EC membership as no longer incompatible with the principle of neutrality (following the example of Ireland). This has led Austria, Sweden, Switzerland and Finland to apply for full EC membership.

For Austria, EC membership is seen as vital to economic development and industrial competitiveness on the world market while its constitutional neutrality, imposed on the Austrian state as part of the post war settlement, is considered secondary to the risks of political marginalization in remaining outside the community. Similarly for Sweden, economic incentives motivate its bid for EC membership while its policy of neutrality, deliberately adopted in response to the bipolarity of the cold war, is seen as of decreased importance in a period of international detente. Although Finland's policy of neutrality was made necessary by security considerations due to its long, exposed border with Russia, decline in trade with the former Soviet Union, previously one of its most important trading partners, has led Finland to seek membership of the EC. Of the two non-neutral EFTA states, Norway and Iceland, Norway is currently deliberating EC membership. Only Iceland has stated that it does not intend to make an application for membership of the EC.

The issue of EC enlargement raises the question of Turkey's status in Europe. Turkey, an associate member of the EC since 1964 , applied for full membership in 1987. However,, conflict with Greece over Cyprus, a poor record on human rights, and recent difficulties in relations with Germany, have clouded Turkey's membership application on which a decision will probably be reached in 1993. Since the break-up of the Soviet Union there has been evidence of Turkey refocussing its attention towards the ex-Soviet states in Central Asia, with which it has recently institutionalized and strengthened ties.

For the states of western Europe, the unfreezing of the border to the east has necessitated a restructuring of regional politics based on the realization that political stability in eastern Europe is essential to Europe's long term prosperity and security. Already, regional problems have spilled over from the east to western Europe as for example the influx of asylum seekers to Germany (the destination of 60% of all asylum seekers from eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union) has led to outbreaks of nationalist tensions and the rise of right wing movements. The economic and social costs of unification in the assimilation of 16 million economically dependent east Germans into the enlarged Germany have added to tensions. As a recent U.K. House of Commons Report has pointed out, it is essential for the west European states to undertake every effort to strengthen economic and political reform in eastern Europe but such aid is likely to prove "a difficult and extremely expensive task."

In order to foster the reformist governments of eastern Europe and ensure the irreversibility of political and economic change, the west European states have framed a series of policy initiatives towards eastern Europe, providing assistance at both a unilateral and multilateral level. In particular, the EC has set up the PHARE program for eastern Europe, designed to provide legal and technical assistance to the states of eastern Europe to enable them to bring their infrastructure more closely in line with that of the EC states. The EC also channels international aid to eastern Europe and provides limited humanitarian assistance.

In response to their stated desire for Community membership, the EC has concluded Association Agreements with the states of east central Europe, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Signed in December 1991, these so called 'European Agreements' provide open access for most industrial products between the above states and the EC on a reciprocal basis. However, on the EC's insistence, agriculture and textiles have been largely excluded from the agreements. The European Agreements, designed to bolster political stability in the states of central Europe and to improve conditions for trade and investment, give tangible form to the aspirations of these states for integration in western Europe. Although the European Agreements do not envisage full membership in the Community, an initial protocol refers to the "ultimate aim" of the east central European states as "accession to the EC." Trade agreements have also been concluded between the EC and Bulgaria and Romania.

West European states have been active in responding to the breakup of the Soviet Union. West European policy has largely been initiated by Germany as current chairman of the Group of Seven (G7) industrialized countries. In March 1992 the G7 states agreed on a $24 billion aid package to Russia, designed as a 'help for self help program' to bolster Russia's President, Boris Yeltsin's, political and economic reforms. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has termed the package "a decisive signal of political and economic support" stressing that "we know that we can only have a limited influence on the reform process in the Commonwealth of Independent States but given the dimension of the task....we must do everything to contribute towards the stabilization of the democracy and economy there." The Nordic states have also been active in extending assistance to the former Soviet Union, focussing their attention on regional cooperation with the Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, to whom they have provided substantial economic, political and technical assistance. The states of western Europe have also sponsored the former Soviet republics' integration into western international institutions. However, there has been some criticism of western Europe for its failure to provide an ample response to events in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The states of western Europe have also responded to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. In response to the outbreak of civil war, the west European states have sponsored an ongoing peace conference on Yugoslavia and have proposed peace initiatives through the CSCE. These states have combined regional initiatives for peace with action at an international level through the Security Council of the United Nations.

The states of western Europe take an active role in world politics, with Britain, France and increasingly Germany as major players in international affairs. Britain and France maintain close relations with their ex-colonies institutionalised through the British Commonwealth and the French francophone community. The European states have in particular played a role in promoting dialogue in the Middle East.

Western Europe also maintains extremely close relations with the United States, with whom Britain has claimed a 'special relationship' due to ties institutionalized through the transatlantic defense pact, NATO, and Anglo-American collaboration in nuclear policy. However, European-U.S. ties have recently become strained due to the difficulties of the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations where Europe's farm policy has been seen by the U.S. as the sine qua non of agreement. Fears of protectionism or a 'fortress Europe' have also raised questions as to the future defense relationship between Europe and the U.S. with the latter increasingly unwilling to bear the costs of European security within NATO. Moreover, NATO's purpose has itself been obscured by the changes in the post cold war era, illustrated by Canada's withdrawal of its troops from NATO forces in early 1992. The redefinition of Euro-American relations in the areas of economic policy and defense can therefore be expected to prove a foreign policy priority of west European states in the post cold war era.

Regional politics of eastern Europe

Since the revolutions of 1989 and the crumbling of communist rule, the states of eastern Europe have been in a state of political and economic transition. Although by January 1992 all east European states had established freely and fairly elected governments, significant differences exist between their levels of adaptation to stable democratic systems. It should also be remembered that eastern Europe itself is largely an artificial concept, reflecting the political divisions of Europe after World War II rather than the historical and cultural traditions of the countries that fell under Soviet occupation.

In the central European states of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, political reform is relatively far progressed. Following the multiparty elections of March and April 1990, Hungary in particular has projected an image of political stability and has set up a functioning government, parliament and legal system. Hungary's relatively advanced democratic institutions are in part a legacy of its previous communist rule under Kadar whose leadership had been markedly less dogmatic than elsewhere in eastern Europe. Similarly the

Federal Republic of Czechoslovakia has successfully continued the process of political and economic reform initiated in late 1989. However, the intensification of demands in Slovakia for autonomy has dominated the political debate, raising fears of instability and a possible constitutional crisis. In Poland a more painful transition to a market economy has sharpened an already deep recession and industrial decline, resulting in governmental fragmentation and the proliferation of political parties. The election of a third post communist government under Jan Olszewski in December 1991 and tensions between the government and President Lech Walesa have raised questions as to the ability of the present system to provide adequate political leadership in a period of severe economic decline.

Difficulties in adaptation to the post-communist era have been particularly grave for the ex-communist countries of the Balkan peninsula. An exception perhaps is Bulgaria which, although initially lagging behind the reform process in central Europe, has more recently experienced a peaceful and steady transition towards democracy, with the election of its first non-communist government in its second round of free elections in October 1991. In Romania, political reform has been more ambiguous due to the persistence of the former communist regime. In Albania, democratic transformations, begun in December 1990, led to the installation of a pluralist system by February 1991, although the communist party had remained in power until the recent elections of March 1992. Although Albania has made recognised progress towards democratization (shown for example in its full membership of the CSCE since June 1991), turmoil in the Albanian economy has led to social chaos. As recent commentators have shown, Albania has emerged from under the most repressive dictatorship in all of Europe, not into an embryonic democratic system but into a situation close to anarchy.

For the former Yugoslavia, post-communist transitions have proved particularly traumatic, with 1991 witnessing the collapse of the federal system founded under Tito and the outbreak of civil war. The crisis is largely a result of ethnic and nationalist tensions, which, while forcibly submerged under the communist regime, reemerged with the lifting of communist rule. In January 1992, in an attempt to end the bloodshed, the EC states recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, with recognition of Bosnian independence following in March 1992. However, nationalist tensions continue, causing serious civil unrest in the region.

Although differences exist between the ex-communist states of eastern Europe, common preoccupations remain. In particular, all states in the region face the challenge posed by the transition from a planned economy to a liberal market economy in the midst of sometimes severe economic decline. The dilemma of the eastern European states has been encapsulated by President Mitterrand of France, in his statement on the inauguration of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development that "after 40 years of isolation, the east European countries are economically devastated and burdened by obsolete technology from which they will not recover in an internationally competitive environment." These problems have been exacerbated by the breakup of the regional framework for trade and economic interaction, CMEA, and the related collapse in trade among east European states and the former Soviet Union, on which the east Europeans had been heavily dependent for subsidized fuel and raw materials and for a market for their exports of industrial and consumer goods. Problems have been intensified by the rise in world oil prices, economic recession in the industrial countries of the west and the debt burden that has accumulated in recent years. As a result in Albania, an extreme example, the economic crisis has been so severe that only western aid has prevented total economic collapse. This has led east European politicians to talk increasingly of a welfare wall dividing east and west. In this way, severe economic decline throughout the region combined with somewhat unrealistic expectations has given rise to disenchantment with the process of reform in much of eastern Europe. As a Polish delegate has warned in a speech to the U.N. General Assembly, "the now defunct East-West confrontation must not be superseded by a feud originating in tensions which are being bred of underdevelopment."

Among the internal political problems faced by east European states is the challenge of social adaptation to political change. For example, in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, the issue of "decommunisation" has polarized political debate. In the Federal Republic of Czechoslovakia, a law has recently been passed providing for the dismissal of various categories of government officials with high level links to the former communist regime. This has split popular opinion, advocated by some as a means of destroying communism and criticized by others (including President Havel) as undermining social cohesion and in possible violation of Czechoslavakia's international commitments to human rights. A similar situation has arisen in Germany where the opening of communist files has provoked considerable social unrest.

Nationalist tensions have continued to pose a threat to the stability of east European states with tensions between the Czech lands and Slovakia threatening the integrity of the Czechoslovakian Federal Republic. Border disputes are also a potential source of intra-regional conflict, particularly in the Balkan region. For example, Albania has contested that its separation from the autonomous Yugoslav republic of Kosovo, which has a largely Albanian population, constitutes the only 'Berlin Wall' remaining in Europe.

East European states are also concerned with their reintegration into the world political system. Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia have identified their foreign policy objectives as closely in line with those of the European Community and have stated their desire to join the economic and military organs of western Europe, including NATO and the EC. Their policy of integration with the west has been successful in so far as each state has concluded close association agreements with the EC and their membership applications have gained the sponsorship of the U.K. and Germany. Similarly, Romania and Bulgaria have been active in reorientating their foreign policy objectives towards western Europe, evidenced by their applications for membership of regional and particularly human rights organizations. Albania, isolationist under communist rule, has also attempted integration into the western political system shown by its recent accession to membership of institutions from the International Monetary Fund to the CSCE. In the former Yugoslavia, attention has been focused on internal conflicts although Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have already been admitted as full members of the United Nations.

Regional politics of the states of the former Soviet Union

Following the break-up of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the Union has dissolved into a loosely associated group of 15 fully independent successor states of which all but four, the three Baltic States and Georgia, are linked through the successor organization to the Soviet Union, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The new ex-communist states differ significantly in terms of size, population and level of economic activity, ranging from the vast Russian Federation to the small Moldova, with a largely Romanian population.

Since its disintegration, the Russian Federation under President Boris Yeltsin has emerged as the heir to the former Soviet Union, upholding its obligations and its international standing on the world stage. Internally, however, the Russian Federation is in a state of political and economic turmoil as poverty, radical change of political regimes and the break-up of the Union have provoked unrest within the Federation and have given rise to anti-reformist pressures that threaten to undermine the pro-reformist government of Boris Yeltsin. Instability in Russia has been compounded by separatist tendencies within its autonomous regions, with for example, Tatarstan recently voting for independence from Moscow in a popular referendum. While the political climate is at best unstable in Russia, the Russian Federation has still to define its relations with the newly independent Republics, as the CIS increasingly appears an inadequate body through which to foster regional multilateral relations. Despite these difficulties, Russia remains a significant world power, possessing a large nuclear arsenal and maintaining close bilateral links with China, Japan and the USA.

Of the newly independent states to the west of the former Soviet empire, Ukraine has emerged as a significant player. Indeed it was Ukraine's December 1991 referendum yielding an estimated 90% vote in favor of independence that accelerated the irretrievable collapse of the Soviet Union. Although the Ukrainian government under President Kravchuk is committed to a program of economic and political reform, it has tended to focus attention on redefining its relations with Russia, with Kravchuk speaking of Kiev's (the capital of Ukraine) relations with Moscow "we must tell them ....that there is an independent Ukraine, an equal full-fledged state, that defines its policies by itself and can live with others in friendship only on these principles." Of a similar size to France, with nuclear weapons still positioned on its territory, the full impact of Ukraine's emergence on the world stage has yet to be appreciated in the former Soviet Union and in the west.

To the west of Ukraine, the newly independent Moldova has been active in creating the institutional framework of a democratic state. However, Moldova, part of Romania until the1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact under which Stalin and Hitler carved up much of eastern Europe, is currently experiencing seccessionist pressures. Fears of Moldovian unification with Romania have led to violent break-away movements in the ethnic Russian Trans-Dniester region, causing considerable political instability in the region. In the Slavic nation of Belorussia, independence has been symbolized by its change of name to the Republic of Belarus. Belarus does not support a strong break with the past but favors the retention of established political and economic ties between the successor states of the Soviet Union within the CIS.

With the break-up of the Soviet Union, the newly independent central Asian states of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan have emerged as actors in the international system. However, declarations of independence by these states have been tempered by their economic dependence on Moscow, leading these states to favor close association within the CIS. In the neighboring Transcaucasian states of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, deteriorating economic performance has raised doubts as to the ability of these republics to survive as independent sovereign states. Political unrest within these states has also been prevalent, illustrated by the violent overthrow of the former president of Georgia in January 1992 and persistent fighting between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabach. Given the current breakdown of political and economic systems within the region, former Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevard-

LITHUANIA
LATVIA
ESTONIA
BELARUS
MOLDOVA
UKRAINE
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
GEORGIA
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
KAZAKHSTAN
TURKMENISTAN
UZBEKISTAN
KYRGYZSTAN
TAJIKISTAN
The former
Soviet Union

nadze, in his capacity as leader of the transitional Georgian government, has recently appealed to the west for compassion, writing in an open letter to a London newspaper, "Nowadays, when the idea of a community of mankind is triumphing, creating a world without tensions, I appeal to you to break down the last wall, the wall of indifference."

The Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, whose independence from Soviet occupation has been internationally recognised since August 1991, face a similar predicament to the ex-communist states of eastern Europe, with the radical reform of economic systems and the redefinition of inter-regional relations and particularly relations with Moscow, as the major policy priorities. Economic and political reforms in these states should be facilitated by the creation in all three states of relatively stable pluralist democratic systems.

For all successor states to the Soviet Union, the redefinition of economic and trade relations within the former Soviet region remains a high political priority. Although all states in the CIS have committed themselves to the maintenance and development of existing direct economic links, the preservation of a unified economic space and ruble zone within the CIS seems unlikely, given the declared intention of several states to institute their own currency units. The reestablishment of economic relations with the CIS region is also of vital interest to the Baltic states, which, formerly economically and politically integrated into the Soviet system, must now reinstitute trade and economic relations with the CIS.

The division of the Soviet army is a further contentious issue for CIS states, involving the complicated process of disaggregating military assets and reassigning military personnel. While a firm agreement on the redivision of the Soviet military structure remains to be reached, individual states of the CIS are now committed to building their own armies, seen by Ukraine as an essential element of statehood. However, some degree of coordination is essential if the successor states are to fulfill the international treaty obligations of the former Soviet Union in the START and the CFE treaties. In this way, deadlock between Ukraine and Russia over the transfer of remaining stockpiles of tactical nuclear weapons in Ukraine has provoked concern in the international community. Recently, the dispute between Ukraine and Russia over the Crimea and ownership of the Black Sea Fleet has been a further source of tension in the CIS. Difficulties have also arisen between Russia and the Baltic States over the withdrawal of the former Soviet troops from Baltic territory. Whereas the Baltic States demand immediate troop withdrawal, seeing the presence of the troops as a threat to national security, Russia has refused to withdraw troops before 1994. Agreement has yet to be reached on this issue and has severely damaged relations between Russia and the Baltic region.

Nationalism and ethnic tensions threaten the stability of the former Soviet region as the disintegration of the Soviet Union has left ethnic minorities scattered throughout the territory. The recent withdrawal of the Soviet army from Nagorno-Karabach and the discussion of this regional conflict within the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and the CSCE reveals the degree of change in the region, and illustrates the growing tendency to treat ethnic conflicts in a multilateral context. The issue of the treatment of ethnic national minorities has also clouded CIS relations with the states of central and east Europe.

Similar to the states of eastern Europe, the successor states to the USSR are focussed on economic recovery. This has dictated their policy towards the wider world, with the new states adopting a dual policy of integration in the multilateral organizations of the world community such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the United Nations, and improved bilateral and multilateral relations with the prosperous states of the West, western Europe, USA, Canada and Japan. Ukraine and Belarus are also committed to integration in the EC. The states of Central Asia have looked towards the Muslim states for closer political and economic relations although this has not been at the expense of developing ties with the prosperous west. Georgia is an exception to the rule as internal political turmoil has led it to concentrate on domestic politics with the consequence that it has not reintegrated itself into regional (CIS) or international groupings. However, this is changing under the leadership of Shevardnadze, with Georgia for instance joining the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in April 1992.

Western Europe at the United Nations

In January 1992, the U.K. Prime Minister, Mr. Major, presided over an extraordinary summit as the Heads of State and Government level of members of the U.N. Security Council met to discuss the role of the Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. This meeting, hailed by Mr. Major as, "a historic event" and "a turning point in the world and at the United Nations," illustrates the extensive and creative role of the west European states in framing the agenda for the United Nations.

Almost all west European states are members of the United Nations and most have participated in the organization since its inception in 1945. Exceptions include Switzerland, which for reasons of neutrality has chosen not to join the U.N. and the Federal Republic of Germany, which was admitted to the U.N. in 1973. The microstate of San Marino, which joined the U.N. in March 1992 as its 175th member, is the most recent west European state to be admitted to the U.N.

From the very beginning, the west European states have played a prominent role in the U.N. Together they contribute over a third of the funds to the regular budget and a high proportion to U.N. peacekeeping activities. Two of the five permanent members of the Security Council, France and the U.K., are also west European states. Permanent membership gives these countries the capacity to veto resolutions before the Security Council and thereby influence international policy. France and the U.K. play direct roles in shaping world politics on current issues such as the peace process in Cambodia, the situation in the Middle East, the consequences of Iraqi invasion against Kuwait, the civil war in the former Yugoslavia and the imposition of international sanctions against Libya.

The west European states maintain active diplomatic representation in the various committees and executive boards of the U.N. Most west European states have large delegations at the U.N., allowing their views to be fully represented on the entire range of U.N. issues. They are strongly represented in U.N. specialized agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and the International Labor Organization (ILO). This large scale participation is in contrast to other states which may have understaffed missions and may therefore not be adequately represented on all issues and at all meetings.

West European states share a common position on many of the issues treated at the U.N. where they often present a unified front. This is particularly true of the EC member states for whom the practice has emerged of allowing the state holding the rotating presidency of the EC to make a speech "on behalf of the EC and its 12 members" where a common position has been reached among the Twelve. This is then complimented by statements by the individual EC member states where their stance on an issue has not been fully represented by the EC common position. In the main session of the 46th General Assembly the Netherlands acted as a spokesman for the EC states and the U.K. is due to hold this position from July to December 1992. Although the Nordic states do not have as developed a mechanism of policy coordination, they similarly tend to present a common position on most of the issues treated in the context of the U.N. However the Nordic states' position does not always coincide with that of EC states, who are often themselves divided, particularly on for example nuclear disarmament issues.

The maintenance of international peace and security is a dominant concern of the west European states who generally support the extension of the U.N.'s role in preventative diplomacy. Recently Belgium, France and the U.K. have been instrumental in initiating discussion of the situation in Yugoslavia in the U.N. Security Council, leading to the dispatch of a 14,000-strong U.N. peacekeeping force to the war torn region. West European states have similarly supported a U.N. negotiated settlement to the dispute in Cyprus over which two European states, Greece and Turkey, are in conflict. This dispute is particularly relevant to western Europe since both Greece and Turkey are members of NATO and Greece is a member of the EC to which Turkey has also applied for membership. Other peacekeeping activities supported by the west European states include the dispatch of peacekeeping forces to Cambodia. A representative from France has described the peacekeeping activities in Cambodia which include for example, the overseeing of free and fair elections as "the most important and complete operation ever undertaken by the United Nations in the maintenance of peace."

West European states play a constructive role in U.N. peacekeeping activities. Recently, President Mitterrand of France, has offered to place a 1,000-member military contingent within 48 hours at the U.N.'s disposal for peacekeeping duties. Following the Persian Gulf crisis, Germany has accepted the need to enhance its role in U.N. peacekeeping activities, sending medical personnel and police officers to Cambodia and stating that it will amend its postwar constitution in order to allow the German state to participate in the military component of peacekeeping activities. However, all west European states stress that peacekeeping operations are provisional arrangements and should not substitute the search for a political settlement.

West European states have also been active through the Security Council in the maintenance of international law. In 1992 France, U.K. and Belgium have been instrumental in imposing aerial, arms and diplomatic sanctions against Libya for its refusal to cooperate in international attempts to establish responsibility for terrorist acts. Sanctions are still applied to South Africa in opposition to its apartheid regime although EC states have lifted their additional sanctions against the South African state due to changes in its political regime. Switzerland holds a unique position as, while not a member of the U.N., it is increasingly following Security Council decisions, participating for the first time in the U.N. embargo against Iraq.

Peace in the Middle East is a priority area for west European states which support negotiations between Israel, the Arab states, and the Palestine Liberation Organization leading to a negotiated settlement which should recognize the rights of all parties involved and give Israel security and peace, and the Palestinians self determination. The involvement of France, Italy and the U.K. among others in the Coalition against Iraq in 1991 demonstrates western Europe's concern for a peace settlement in the region. West European states also support the principles of democracy and freedom in Africa and Latin America, and the EC states maintain close economic and political ties with the emerging regional organizations in these areas.

West European states are similarly active on political and security issues. Here changes in the international environment due to the ending of cold war tensions have been most apparent, and there has been increasing consensus in the U.N. on general security issues. However differences persist between the west European states on approaches to nuclear disarmament . Whereas the U.K., one of the five declared nuclear powers, supports the principle of a minimum level of nuclear deterrence, most west European states and particularly the neutral states support complete nuclear disarmament. This has led the U.K.'s position on nuclear disarmament to often coincide more closely with that of the U.S. than with its west European partners.

Despite differences of approach to nuclear disarmament, all west European states are concerned to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, particularly in the context of the break-up of the Soviet Union. Here west European states have been anxious for nuclear weapons to remain under a single unified command and for the newly independent states to fulfil the nuclear disarmament obligations agreed by the Soviet Union in the CFE and START negotiations. West European states support a wider concept of disarmament, embracing conventional as well as nuclear weapons. In this way they advocate the signing at the earliest possible date of a convention outlawing the use of chemical weapons and an extension of the convention on biological weapons. In the 1991 General Assembly, the EC states together with Japan sponsored Resolution 46/36L, "Transparency in armaments," an unprecedented initiative empowering the Secretary General to set up a register to record the transfer of conventional arms. West European states have also undertaken unilateral disarmament initiatives as, for example, France in 1991 declared a one year moratorium on nuclear weapons testing and announced its decision to accede to the Non Proliferation Treaty.

Western Europe also maintains an active policy on humanitarian issues which are addressed by these states both in the context of the U.N. and the CSCE. Most west European states support the principle of the right to intervene in the internal affairs of a state for humanitarian ends since, as the former German Foreign Minister has recently stated in an address to the General Assembly, "the violation of human rights must no longer be a domestic concern of individual states but a domestic concern of the community of nations as a whole." The states of Western Europe support the establishment of a U.N. International Criminal Court to prosecute crimes against humanity and have been active in convening a World Conference on Human Rights to be held Austria in 1993.

Other important areas for west European states include development issues, where the Nordic States in particular have formulated a cohesive policy, providing approximately one third of the funding for U.N. development activities and recently initiating a study on development programs entitled "Nordic United Nations Projects." All west European states accept that world security is not possible without social and political development, economic growth and prosperity.

A further important issue for Western Europe is the environment where concerted action among the European states to prevent further environmental degradation has been taken. The west European states have been active participants in the preparations for the 1992 U.N. Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED) described by a Finnish delegate in a speech to the U.N. as "a turning point" and "the beginning of a process towards ecologically sustainable development." West European states have been active in all environmental activities, including rural development, desertification, deforestation, waste management, industrial pollution, global warming, contamination of water sources and environmental research and education. EC states support an enhanced role for the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) to combat these problems. The EC and the Nordic states are also involved in several environmental programs including the creation by EC states of a European Environmental Agency.

Eastern Europe at the United Nations

The former communist states of east and central Europe have been radically affected by the easing of ideological tensions following the end of the cold war. With the abandoning of their former bloc positions, the east European

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group of states have begun to redefine their positions on the entire spectrum of issues treated at the U.N., in accordance with their newly formulated principles of pluralism, democracy and liberal market economics. While the states still function through the East European Group of States at the U.N., this group serves electoral and procedural purposes and does not reflect the same degree of homogeneity as in the recent past. These changes were signalled by a Bulgarian delegate in his address to the U.N., for " the decades-old bipolar model of the world that we all knew, a model primarily based on the military and political confrontation between two states, has been gradually giving way to a new state of international relations. Free of the icy breath of the Cold War, this new state of international relations paves the way for normal communication between peoples from different countries and continents."

For the east and central European states, most of which were founding members of the Organization. The U.N. has become a forum in which to enunciate a new approach to foreign policy. Since all states in the region are striving for reintegration in the institutions of Europe, the policy priorities of these states are increasingly converging with those of western Europe. This is particularly apparent for the central European states, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, whose position on the majority of issues coincides with that of the states of western Europe. Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland have increasingly adopted a coordinated approach to the work of the U.N., with common statements frequently made by one state on behalf of the three countries. Albania, Bulgaria and Romania are moving towards a position close to that of western Europe but retain strong ties with the Non Aligned Movement. The position on the former Yugoslav republics in 1992, remains unclear, given the disintegration of Yugoslavia as a unitary federal state and the outbreak of war in the region. However, since May 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia have been admitted as full members of the U.N.

In their formulation of policy at the U.N., most eastern European states strongly advocate an enhanced role for the U.N. in guaranteeing the protection of human and in particular minority rights. Hungary is especially active in this area and firmly supports the principle of the right to intervene in the affairs of a state for humanitarian purposes. This issue is of particular national concern to Hungary, as approximately one third of all Hungarians live outside the borders of the Hungarian state, leading a Hungarian delegate at the U.N. to conclude that, " respect for human rights and the rights of national minorities is not a merely legal and humanitarian question; it is also an integral part of international collective security." Active support for human rights and the principle of self-determination has encouraged Hungary to promote the early admission of the former Yugoslav republics to the United Nations.

On defense and security matters, the east European states advocate increased international assistance with attempts to convert their domestic defense industries to civilian purposes. This is of particular concern to Czechoslovakia, where the Slovak region is almost wholly dependent on defense production. However, as eastern European delegates have stressed, military restructuring not only necessitates material conversion but also aspects of human conversion, involving the retraining and re-employment of large numbers of scientists,experts and professional soldiers. Defense conversion is also essential in order to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to troubled areas of the world, as increased arms sales by the eastern European states are necessitated by economic considerations.

Eastern European states are in favor of an enhanced role of the U.N. Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. They also support the Secretary General's decision of 1990 proposing compensation for those states that suffer grave losses as a result of compliance with Security Council sanctions. This cause is strongly advocated by Bulgaria, who was adversely affected by the implementation of embargoes against Iraq during the Persian Gulf Crisis.

Other areas of active participation for the east European states include environmental and development issues. However, as small and heavily indebted economies in transition, contributing combined under 2% of the funds to the U.N. regular budget, the eastern European states recognise that they can only make a modest contribution to U.N. activities in these areas. The change in the eastern European group's position at the U.N., with their reorientation towards the North and the West has also led to a significant deterioration in East-South relations. This has been further exacerbated by fears on the part of the South that aid funds formerly channelled towards the South will be redirected towards the floundering economies of east and central Europe.

The new states of the former Soviet Union at the United Nations

The break-up of the Soviet Union was dramatically illustrated by the admission of of the former Soviet Republics as independent member states of the United Nations. The Russian Federation, as the successor state of the Soviet Union, has taken up the latter's seat in the General Assembly, and its permanent membership of the U.N. Security Council. The former socialist republics, Ukraine and Belarus, which were original signatories of the U.N. Charter due to Stalin's diplomacy, have now assumed a fully independent identity at the U.N. and are no longer representatives of the former Soviet Union. The Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which gained international recognition of independence in August 1991, were admitted to the U.N. in September 1991 in time to take part in the General Assembly plenary session. In March 1992, at a special plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly, the newly independent Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan. Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan were admitted as full members of the U.N. with only Georgia remaining outside the world Organization.

For the Russian Federation, the end of bipolarity and the break-up of the Soviet Union have fundamentally altered policy formulation at the U.N. This was confirmed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, speaking on behalf of the Russian Federation at the January 1992 Security Council Summit. Whereas ideological tensions between the USSR and the U.S. had previously paralyzed the work of the Security Council, President Yeltsin declared that, "the new political situation in the world makes it possible not only to advance new, original ideas but also to make even the most ambitious ideas practicable." Moreover, "Russia regards the United States and the West not as mere partners but rather as allies." In 1992, Russia and the U.S. have acted in partnership in imposing sanctions against Libya and in seeking a political solution to the situation in Cambodia. However, although Russia advocates an active role for the U.N. in international diplomacy, severe domestic political and economic crises have of necessity been the main focus of its attention. Areas of specific concern for Russia include large scale disarmament, the conversion of defense industries to civilian purposes and technological and environmental assistance to secure the safety of Russian nuclear facilities. Russia is also concerned to enlist the support of the international community to ensure that the nuclear capabilities of the former Soviet Union are transferred to Russian territory and remain under single, unified command. Outside of these priorities, Russia supports the principles of the primacy of democracy, human rights and freedoms and the international formulation of legal and moral standards.

As the second largest state of the former Soviet Union, Ukraine has emerged as a significant actor at the U.N. Here Ukraine has used its position in the General Assembly to assert its newly independent status and to demonstrate that, according to its President , "Ukraine has changed more than just the name of its country on its name plate in the Assembly Hall." Influenced by the Chernobyl nuclear disaster of 1986, Ukraine rejects subordination to Russia on disarmament issues and has stated its desire to become directly involved in the disarmament negotiating process. Other issues of concern for the Ukraine include human and minority rights, acceptance of the territorial status quo in eastern Europe, and international assistance with efforts to restructure its economy and to ensure the safety of its nuclear facilities. Ukraine also supports increased international action to aid the victims of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

For Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, membership of the U.N. represents the end of Soviet occupation and a return to the international community. These three states, which took part in the plenary session of the 1991 General Assembly, have expressed their intention to play an active role in the solution of regional and global problems in the U.N. fora as well as to seek guidance and assistance from the world organization. Particular concerns for the Baltic states include an enhanced role for the U.N. in peace-making activities. However, all three states, politically and economically integrated into the Soviet system until 1991, have suffered from a lack of diplomatic personnel to staff their missions and to ensure adequate representation on the committees and agencies of the U.N.

For the eight newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, admitted to the U.N. in March 1992, membership of the U.N. represents a new stage in international relations. Although all eight states have declared their intention to uphold the principles of the U.N. Charter, they have yet to formulate their positions on the full range of issues covered in the General Assembly. Issues that might be addressed in the U.N. include a possible U.N. peacekeeping mission to resolve the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabach and a U.N. role in guaranteeing the protection of ethnic minority rights. For the former communist states of Central Asia, geopolitical ties with the states in this region can be expected to influence their future positions at the U.N.

Latin America and the Caribbean

1990 and 1991 were a period of political and economic change for Latin America. 1990 marked the emergence of newly democratically elected leaders, particularly in South America where for the first time in these nations' histories the entire continent was governed by democratically elected presidents. 1991 proved to be a testing ground of the efficacy of these new governments to implement badly needed economic reform measures while maintaining political stability. Destabilizing factors affecting nations of the region include civil wars, powerful opposition parties, drug trafficking and production, and a cholera epidemic. These factors are directly related to the region's economic difficulties, as characterized by a combined foreign debt exceeding $430 billion and large populations of people living in extreme poverty.

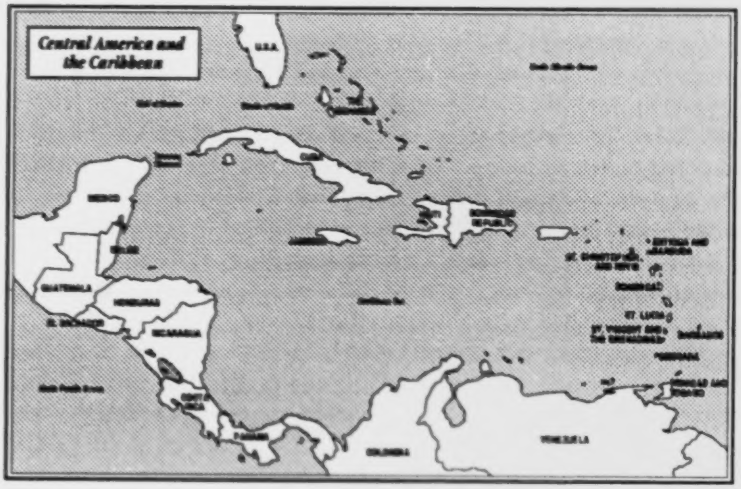
The term Latin America is used in reference to independent republics located in South America, Central America, and the islands of the Caribbean. It should be noted, however, that due to present or former ties to the British Commonwealth, some Caribbean countries feel a closer relationship to Great Britain than to any Latin American country. The common language of these nations is Spanish, except in Brazil where Portuguese is spoken, in Haiti where French is spoken, and in Belize and several Caribbean countries where English is spoken.

South America is located in the southern portion of the western hemisphere. It is commonly divided into three distinct regions. First, the Andean region includes the six countries of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile and Bolivia. These countries account for the northern and eastern portion of the continent and share the Andes mountains. The Rio De La Plata region is made up of the republics of Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay and are bound together by the Rio De La Plata river system. The third region in South America is composed solely of Brazil, the fifth largest country in the world. The most important feature of Brazil is the Amazon River Basin and rain forest extending 3,900 miles. Other countries located in South America are Suriname, Guyana, and French Guiana. Despite the fact that these countries are a part of South America, they are not thought of as belonging to Latin America due to cultural and historical differences.

Central America includes the countries of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and Belize. Mexico is geographically considered to be a part of North America, yet can be included in the discussion of Latin America because of its cultural and historical similarities. These countries form an isthmus connecting North America with South America.

The Caribbean consists of two groups of islands, the Greater and Lesser Antilles, located directly south of the equator including Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, Haiti, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincente and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. The majority of the governments in the Caribbean, although independent from British rule, are members of the British Commonwealth. These members have parliamentary governments headed by governor-generals who represent the British Monarch. Those countries not in the Commonwealth are Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Puerto Rico culturally belongs to Latin America, but is a commonwealth of the United States. The remaining areas of Guadeloupe, the Caicos Islands, the British Virgin Islands, and the U.S. Virgin Islands are dependent territories of France, Great Britain and the U.S., respectively.

The majority of Latin America's working population participate in farming. However, the amount of cultivatable land is not evenly distributed, leaving the majority of farmers with small tracts of land that many times are not profitable. The majority of the land is cultivated by a few owners that produce crops for exports. The situation has led some small farmers to turn their activities to coca leaf cultivation supported by drug traffickers. In countries like



Brazil, Colombia and Nicaragua, the local governments have been trying to establish an effective agrarian reform plan. However, many conflicts have arisen between the two affected groups, making the task more difficult.

Agriculture plays an important role in the Latin American economy. The most valuable export crop is coffee, and Brazil produces more than half of the region's yield, with Colombia and Mexico following. Wheat is grown primarily in Argentina, Mexico and Chile. The production of cotton takes place in Mexico and Brazil. Bananas are grown in Brazil, Ecuador, and Honduras, while Cuba and Brazil are the primary producers of sugar.

Most countries of Latin America have attempted to use a republican form of government with elected presidents and constitutions patterned after that of the United States. However, military rule and dictatorships have been common throughout Latin America's history.

Regional organizations

A prominent regional organization is the Latin American Economic System (SELA). Founded in 1975, SELA emerged out of the declining economic conditions of the early 1970's. Trade deficits were increasing sharply and the rate of growth was heavily declining. The group works to promote multinational enterprises, protect the price of basic commodities, ensure markets for regional exports, and reinforce technological and scientific cooperation among members of all Latin American countries, except those of the British Commonwealth. In the international arena, SELA defends regional interests and presents a unified Latin American voice.

The Latin American Integration Association (LAIA) was formed in 1981 as the direct descendent of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA). The group includes the ten republics of South America and Mexico and seeks to promote regional trade. The organization, however, has met with limited success. Smaller countries cannot industrialize in competition with the major economic powers of Latin America, namely Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. The divergent interests of large and small nations has contributed to its lack of success and the creation of smaller trade pacts.

One of these smaller trade pacts is the newly reformed Central American Common Market between Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Founded in 1961, the organization created a regional market of over 14 million people. It allowed Central Americans to develop industries that could not have been profitable if they only produced for small national markets. Recently, the group has eliminated trade barriers among member countries and developed a common external tariff as part of the Central American Economic Integration Program.

Similar to the nations of the Central American Common Market, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay have strengthened their trade ties and will form a free market on December 31, 1994. The MERCOSUR Agreement, to be consummated on this date, will mark the culmination of an initiative that began in 1985 with the gradual lowering of trade barriers between Brazil and Argentina, who were later joined by Uruguay in 1988 and Paraguay in 1990. Moreover, Bolivia has expressed an interest in joining the pact. From now until 1994, all trade tariffs between these nations will be gradually lowered until a complete regional free trade zone exists. The MERCOSUR countries will also increase the uniformity of their commercial ties with the outside world.

Twenty-four Latin American countries have joined OPANAL, the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. Their purpose is to make the region a nuclear free zone with the hope of contributing to the attainment of global nuclear disarmament.

Regional political and economic agreements also exist among the nations of the Caribbean. The Eastern Caribbean formed the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) in 1981 to effect sub-regional integration in the spheres of economics, defense, and foreign policy. These small states have neither the power nor political clout to secure their similar interests in economic development and political stability without integrating their efforts. For similar reasons, the Caribbean community also formed Caricom, the Caribbean Community and Common Market. Consisting of 15 Caribbean states, Caricom is currently considering creating a free trade zone and single currency market among its members, and continuing to petition industrialized nations for unconditional access to their markets for all of their products.

The Andean Pact, established in 1969, includes the countries in the Andean range. As members of the pact, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela have combined efforts in dealing with regional economic and social matters. Recent items on the Pact's agenda have been the development of a common energy policy, the coordination of negotiations with creditors, trade liberalization measures and cooperation on industrial development.

Regional cartels are yet another group of organizations working to economically integrate Latin America. There are a number of producer cartels for such commodities as rubber (ANPRC), iron ore (APEF), copper (CIPEC), cocoa (Copal and ICCO), sugar (ISO), cotton (IIC and ICAC), coffee (ICO), lead and zinc (ILZ), wool (IWSG), oil (OPEC), and bananas (UPEB). The Pan American Union is the oldest regional organization in Latin America. Founded in 1889, the organization promoted cultural and commercial exchanges among the republics of North and South America. In May 1948, the republics approved the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS), which absorbed the Pan Am Union and is today the prominent organization representing the United States, Canada, and the 31 republics of Latin America. The essential purposes of the OAS include the strengthening of peace and security in the hemisphere; preventing disputes among member states and ensuring the peaceful settlement of disputes that do arise; responding collectively to acts of aggression; and collectively seeking solutions to political and economic turmoil in the region. The collective security arrangements of the OAS provide for the use of armed forces in certain instances. However, the use of military forces has rarely been utilized and when they have been called upon, their role has been that of observers or members of fact finding missions.

Since its formation, most OAS activities have consisted of investigating conditions and facilitating peaceful settlements of disputes. Sanctions were first imposed in 1960 when member states were asked to break diplomatic relations and suspend arms trade with the Dominican Republic. For an organization of its size and intended purpose, the OAS has not been very active in intra-regional relations, but OAS activities since 1990 have garnered increasing respect and approval among the nations of Latin America. This has resulted in 1990 and 1991, being particularly active years for the OAS, during which the OAS worked closely with the United Nations. During this time period, the organization engaged in election monitoring in five Latin American Countries, launched peace keeping missions in El Salvador and Nicaragua, levied sanctions against Haiti and sent an observer mission to the island nation.

During 1990 and 1991, the OAS monitored elections in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Haiti, Paraguay and Suriname. In Nicaragua and El Salvador, the OAS has been actively engaged in seeking to settle several political problems in the wake of massive political changes in both countries. In March of 1991, a 160 member OAS delegation monitored Salvadoran elections and, following a January 1992 cease-fire in this nation, the organization is closely monitoring El Salvador's transition into a unified country. In Nicaragua, the OAS, in conjunction with the U.N. Observer Force in Central America (ONUCA) and several Central American countries, monitored Nicaragua's elections and cease-fire. Specifically, since June 1990 the OAS has been active in seeking to ensure the safe repatriation of former rebels (CONTRAS). The repatriation program entails ensuring that the former CONTRAS receive land rights and that their human rights are protected. According to the OAS, approximately 5,000 of an estimated 20,000 CONTRAS still remain landless, as the former ruling party, the Sandinistas, are reluctant to release land holdings they controversially acquired shortly before losing power.

The OAS's most recent activity involves the nation of Haiti, where the democratically elected president has been ousted from power by the military, led by Lieut. General Raul Cedras. The OAS is mediating the dispute by negotiating directly with the Haitian Parliament, which has agreed to allow the president to return to power, but has not approved a final agreement as of March 1992. In addition to its role as a negotiator, the OAS has also sent two human rights observer missions to Haiti, but its new team, which will monitor the ousted president's return to power and the upcoming elections, has been rejected by the Haitian Parliament as a wrongful interference in Haitian internal affairs. Shortly after the coup d' etat of September 1991, the OAS launched a trade embargo, encompassing vital goods and petroleum products, against Haiti in an effort to force the rebel government to surrender. As the return of the president remains deadlocked, the OAS is considering upgrading its embargo on select items to a total blockade, but as of April 1992, has opted to issue only a strong condemnation of the junta's actions.

The OAS held its annual meeting of its General Assembly in Santiago, Chile in June of 1991. In light of the organization's increased activity in recent years, an ambitious agenda encompassing environmental and trade issues and treaty commitments to defend democracy were discussed. Accordingly, the organization is seeking to increase the cohesion between its Hispanic and non-Hispanic members to provide for more effective action.

Frequently Latin American countries have enlisted the cooperation of their neighbor states when dealing with regional issues. Consequently, many regional organizations have evolved in response to all facets of concerns. In recent years, more and more leaders of Latin American countries are seeking closer ties with their neighbors to attain effective settlements of the region's economic and political problems.

Regional politics

Latin America is currently and has been a very volatile region. However, the stability of the region has vastly improved with the ending of two civil wars and the election of democratic governments. During the 1980's, the instability of Central and South America was marked by a plethora of successive governments, installed as the result of military coups and intervention by other countries. However, in 1990 and 1991, democratic reform swept through several Latin American countries. Many countries in Central America elected new democracies and the entire South American continent experienced democratization. The economies of many Latin American nations have improved, which has strengthened the power of the new democratic governments of the region. However, Latin American's economic problems remain severe, as highlighted by the region's $430 billion foreign debt and high rate of poverty among its people, estimated to be more than 30%, particularly among its indigenous populations. Furthermore, most of Latin America's political, social and environmental problems are closely linked to the region's economic situation. Some of these problems include drug production and trafficking, disputes over land distribution, environmentally unsustainable development and a regional cholera epidemic.

Central America and the Caribbean

Of the regions of Latin America, Central America is the most politically unstable. Coalition governments plagued by political divisions and economic crises govern Nicaragua and Panama, while El Salvador attempts to implement a U.N.sponsored peace plan in the wake of a 12-year civil war. Meanwhile, a 33-year civil war continues in Guatemala.

1991 was a year of monumental change for El Salvador and 1992 promises to be the same. Throughout the year, the Salvordoran Government of Alfredo Cristiani engaged in several rounds of peace talks with the leaders of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), a guerrilla group that has battled the El Salvadoran governments for more than a decade. The U.N. sponsored talks stalemated and almost dissolved several times throughout the year, but on January 16, 1992, the two parties signed a peace accord in Mexico City, marking the end of a twelve year civil war with a cease-fire implemented on February 1.

Under the January accord, El Salvador will undergo dramatic political changes, including constitutional changes in the structure of its government. First, the FMLN will be completely disarmed and dissolved by October 1992, accompanied by a 50% reduction in the size of the Salvadoran army. Second, under a new organizational structure and name, the FMLN will become a political party. Third, the Commission For the Consolidation of Peace (COPAZ), consisting of the seven political parties represented in the Salvordoran legislature and the FMLN, will oversee the economic and political changes necessary to absorb the former rebels into Salvadoran society and maintain a peaceful, unified nation. Such changes include the freeing of political prisoners, a reformation of the judicial system to further protect human rights and the development of a civilian based police force from a military with the assistance of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Fourth, a 1,300 member U.N. observer force, ONUSAL, will monitor the cease-fire and the accompanying political changes until June of 1992. At the request of the Salvadoran government, ONUSAL has been active in El Salvador since July 1991 and will report, via the U.N. Secretary General, to the Security Council and General Assembly.

1992 will prove to be the testing ground of the ability of the Salvadoran government to maintain peace, while fostering the political and economic development of a country divided by different political allegiances among its people. This is exactly the situation the Nicaraguan government faced in 1991, but with unpromising results.

Former Marxist led Nicaragua is now a democratic government ruled by President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, of the National Opposition Union (UNO). Chamorro was elected in 1990 and her election marked the end of Nicaragua's eight year civil war between the former Sandinista government and the CONTRAS. However, due to a poor economy, compounded by strong remnants of the Sandinistas in the military, Chamorro's government is experiencing instability and conflict after an initially stable transfer of power.

Major causes of this instability are Nicaragua's economic troubles, as characterized by an $11 billion foreign debt, 40% unemployment rate and an unstable currency. The political unrest stems from the fact that the Sandinistas still control the military and own most of Nicaragua's land, which they acquired via a controversial law passed by the National Legislature when it was controlled by the Sandinistas. This law was rescinded by the National Legislature in June of 1991, but the implementation of this recision is still pending in the Nicaraguan Supreme Court, as of March 1992. Meanwhile, as the Chammorro government disarms both former Contras and Sandinista soldiers, unequal land distribution and a lack of employment is prompting bands of these individuals to rearm. In a country where the majority of the people grow their own food, land ownership is vital to the livelihood of the people. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has been assisting the Nicaraguan Government in finding land and jobs for its people, but thousands of Nicaraguans are still without the means to support themselves. The OAS estimates that 5,000 Contras, alone, are still without land.

Chamorro, plagued by divisions within her own party, the National Opposition Union, has maintained Sandinistas in her government with the hope that she can eventually unite the Nicaraguan people behind one representative government. The Sandinistas maintain strong support among a large portion of the population and the former Contras form another faction. Chamorro views a unified government, representing all of the Nicaraguan people, as a pre-requisite for effective long term economic development.

Although cease-fires have been attained by its Central American neighbors, the Guatemalan government continues to deal with a civil war that began more than thirty years ago. An estimated 100,000 lives have been lost since the war's inception in 1959 and 40,000 people are missing. The Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG) is a coalition of four rebel groups that opposes the Government on various issues, principally on the distribution of land within the country. During 1991, the UNRG and the Government of President Jorge Serrano Elias negotiated on democratization, economic redistribution and human rights policies as part of his National Peace Fund initiative (FONAPAZ), but no significant agreements were reached. However, new rounds of negotiations began in February of 1992, but have been deadlocked over the timing of a ceasfire and government reform, and the investigation of alleged human rights violations by the Guatemalan police and military. As of March 1992, the negotiations were still stalemated on these issues.

Panama is another country that suffered many changes in the recent years. The country was invaded by 24,000 U.S. troops in December, 1989. General Manuel Antonio Noriega was ousted from power, but 600 Panamanians were killed in the process. The U.S. justified the invasion as a means to seize and convict Noriega on drug charges and to protect its interests in the Panama Canal Zone. The democratic regime of Guilhermo Endara was installed with strong support from the U.S. government. The Endara government faces a rate of unemployment near 20%, but increasing economic activity in its Colon Free Trade Zone is a positive economic indicator. The Colon Zone is low tax, free trade area within Panama designed to encourage trade and foreign investment. To decrease government expenditures, Endara has won approval from the National Legislature to disband the Panamanian army and place all security matters in the hands of one civilian police force. This action has been accompanied by requests from the United States for Panama to increase its drug interdiction efforts. Similar to many other Latin American nations, the Endara government, citing a lack of government funds, will not commit more money to this matter and has made repeated calls for more U.S. foreign aid for this purpose. Meanwhile, the United States is increasing the pace of its troop withdrawal from Panama.

Cuba is currently the only communist nation in Latin America and is growing more isolated and vulnerable in the wake of Nicaragua's democratization and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. President Fidel Castro is facing worsening economic problems, most manifest in the scarcity of basic goods within Cuba. Russia has refused to continue the practice of the former Soviet Union by selling Cuba subsidized oil, instead opting for sales at the market price. Similarly, the oil producing nations of Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia stated in an October 1991 conference with Cuba that they will offer Cuba economic aid and oil subsidies only in a quid pro quo for democratic reforms. Castro refused and as the Cuban economy worsens, Castro has unleashed a barrage of propaganda aimed at appeasing Cuba's masses and repressing public dissention. The Castro government has also resorted to increased arrests and other police activities to maintain order.

Haiti is another nation that has become isolated as a result of an undemocratic government controlling the nation. Since wresting power from Haiti's first democratically elected president, Jean Betrand Aristide, on September 30, 1991, the military, under the control of Lieut. General Raul Cedras, has been in control of the Haitian government. Although the Organization of American States brokered a February 1992 agreement between the Haitian Parliament and Aristide providing for the President's return, the Parliament has not approved the accord as of March 1992.

The accord provides for Aristide's return to the presidency and amnesty for all those involved in the coup, except those who can be indicted as common law criminals under Haitian law. Aristide considers Cedras ineligible for amnesty, while Prime Minister Rene Theodore believes Cedras should not be prosecuted. The pact also provides for an OAS observer mission to monitor Aristide's return to power, the protection of human rights and the initiation of elections. The OAS is especially concerned about monitoring the welfare of thousands of Haitians who were forcefully returned to their country by the United States, who deemed them ineligible for political refugee asylum, after they fled Haiti in the wake of the September 1991 coup. The OAS is concerned that the Haitian government will repress these people for their actions. The Haitian Parliament has rejected the OAS observer team as a subversive invasion. Meanwhile, the OAS is becoming increasingly impatient with the Haitian Parliament and is considering a total blockade of the island nation to force the military to accede control. This blockade would isolate and consequently economically devastate Haiti, which is heavily reliant upon international trade, particularly with the United States, for its prosperity.

South America

The nations of South America have been confronting issues similar to those in Central America including civil wars, drug crops, land distribution disputes and economic development. 1990 marked the first year all of the continent's nations were ruled by democratic regimes. Throughout 1991, the economies of most South American Nations grew and strengthened, as governments controlled inflation and implemented other economic measures. However, a coup attempt in Venezuela stemming from economic discontent among the people has put South American governments on guard to satisfy the concerns of their people in implementing their economic reforms. Civil wars continued in Peru and Colombia who, along with Bolivia, are the largest producers of coca leaves. These governments, in cooperation with the United States and U.N., continued to battle the drug producers. Moreover, the movement toward the regional integration of South America continued with a regional agreement to establish a free trade zone among Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay.

In June of 1990, Alberto Fujimori was elected President of Peru. Fujimori came into power as Peru's economy was contracting and the nation was faced with a $20 billion foreign debt. Since 1991, Peru has also been facing a cholera epidemic and, according to the Pan American Health Organization, is the worst affected country of Latin America, having more than 250,000 cases in July 1991.

Fujimori's efforts to address his country's economic concerns have been severely hindered by the anti-government guerrillas who control a large portion of Peru. The Shining Path is the most powerful of these guerrilla groups. The other main rebel group is the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA). The rebel groups appeal to Peruvians, particularly indigenous people of the Andes Mountains, who are most affected by the country's poor economy. In control of different regions of Peru, The Shining Path and MRTA control the drug trade in their respective territories, and cooperate with drug producers and traffickers to facilitate the drug trade throughout the nation and world. The rebels have used the drug trade to further weaken the government, because combatting the drug trade takes away government funding for economic development and creates an underground economy which hinders the government's anti-inflation efforts. The continual poor state of the economy increases governmental resentment among Peruvians, which in turn furthers the rebel cause to oust the government from power.

The Peruvian government is also combatting Peruvian drug traffickers. In 1991, plans, in partnership with the U.S., were developed to repress coca harvesting through the use of the military and crop substitution programs. Citing the terrorism, corruption and drug trafficking that is plaguing Peru, Fujimori dissolved the Peruvian Congress and Judiciary in April of 1992 and took control of this body in an attempt to implement an emergency plan to regain control of his country. Both the OAS and the United States immediately condemned this action, with the United States suspending all aid and the OAS issuing a strong condemnation and sending an observer mission to the country. In contrast, April 1992 opinion poles taken within Peru indicate strong support for Fujimori's action among the Peruvian people. The new government feels that it must first prevail over the guerrillas and drug traffickers in order to preserve its democratic regime and effectively reactivate the country's bankrupt economy.

Colombia is another South American country that is facing a major drug trafficking crisis and rebel violence. The two dominant rebel groups in Colombia are the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN). These left wing insurgency movements are opposed to the government's political and economic policies, particularly those governing land distribution. In June 1991, the first round of peace talks between the government and the rebels concluded with little progress made. In a later round of talks in September 1991, the government walked out of the talks because the rebels were escalating their attacks while making peace overtures at the negotiations.

The anti-drug program developed by President Cesar Gaviria Trujillo is another cause for the increasing levels of violence within Colombia, as drug producers and traffickers battle the government's drug interdiction efforts. Colombia's government is currently receiving help from the U.S. government and other governments to combat the drug trafficking and to improve the declining economy. The Trujillo Government has also implemented an amnesty program to encourage the leaders of the drug cartels to surrender, in return for a guarantee that they will not be extradited to the United States.

In addition to the efforts of their own security forces and police to combat the drug trade, Peru and Colombia have also joined forces with the United States, Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela to develop common anti-drug production and trafficking policies. In February of 1992, the presidents of these countries and a delegation from Venezuela met in San Antonio, Texas to develop specific policy guidelines and timetables. This summit was the follow up to the 1990 Cartagena Drug Summit between the U.S., Colombia, Peru and Bolivia. One proposal called for a 50% reduction in coca production by the year 2000. However, Peru objected to this proposal because it would have placed a great strain on the Peruvian economy. Although no reduction targets were established, individual initiatives were announced by participating nations. Bolivia and Colombia withdrew their armies from combating the drug trade, citing the controversy over human rights violations that the forces generate. Colombia has opted to use its civilian police force, while Bolivia has asked the United States to transfer its aid for the Bolivian army to Bolivia's crop substitution programs.

South America
Caribbean Sea
VENEZUELA
GUYANA
North Atlantic Ocean
COLOMBIA
SURINAME
FRENCH GUIANA
ECUADOR
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
South Pacific Ocean
ARGENTINA
URUGUAY
CHILE
South Atlantic Ocean

In March 1990, General Augusto Pinochet handed over the presidency of Chile to the newly elected leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Patricio Aylwin. The installation of democracy in Chile comes after a 16-year military dictatorship under Pinochet, a government guilty of widespread human rights abuses. However, Pinochet has retained his title of Military Commander and through the various appointments he made to the branches of Chile's government while president, remains an influential political figure. President Aylwin has set up a commission to investigate the alleged human rights violations of the military and previous government, and has brought many cases to court. However, the investigations are hindered by the Pinochet appointed

Supreme Court which opposes prosecuting military officials. Economically, the Alywin government is continuing the free market and privitization policies of his predecessor, but is facing increasing unrest among Chileans who want higher wages and increased governmental social services.

The countries of Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia face a common economic problem of rising inflation and large external debts. Each nation had different margins of success in improving various elements of their economies during 1991, but overall, each seems to be economically improving.

Venezuela has one of the strongest economies in Latin America and this growth has continued under President Andres Perez, despite an unsuccessful coup attempt in December of 1991 by a faction of the military. Significantly contributing to Venezuela's success have been a tradition of democratically elected governments and Venezuela's oil exports. While Venezuela's economy grew 9.2% in 1991, many Venezuelans have been adversely affected by the government's policies of privitization and cuts in government social spending. Similar to the situation in Chile, the government's economic policies have generated frustration among the people and are increasing political opposition.

Brazil, the largest nation in South America, is headed by its first directly elected president in a generation. Fernando Collor de Mello took office in March 1990 and since then has applied many new economic policies in an attempt to repress rising rates of inflation and establish a free-market economy. The Collor Government is seeking to revitalize Brazil's economy through the privitization of inefficient public industries and an increase in foreign direct investment, which dramatically decreased throughout the 1980's. Although Collor has significantly reduced Brazil's inflation rate, he has set modest goals for positive economic growth until his program is well under way. However, the implementation of this program is constrained by the Brazilian Congress, which is controlled by opposition parties who are not wholly supportive of Collor's economic policies. Moreover, the next presidential and congressional elections are not until October of 1994, leaving Collor in a possible political deadlock for the next two years.

In contrast to its economic policies, the Collor Presidency has made significant changes in its environmental preservation policies. Responding to international concern over the Amazon Rainforest, the president has dedicated several resources to stopping illegal gold mining activity in indigenous people's territories and has established a Debt for Nature Program. Under the program, the Brazilian government has set aside sections of Brazil's rainforest as preserves, in return for a reduction in Brazil's foreign debt payments by the United States and other creditors.

Argentina, headed by President Carlos Menem, faces a similar economic picture to that of Brazil. Since his election, the president has managed to gain military support for his government and achieve a peaceful settlement after an unsuccessful military coup attempt in December 1990. The country, now stabilized politically, needs radical changes in its economy. Menem's ultimate goals are the same as Collor's of Brazil: a free-trade economy and privatization.

The countries of Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia present a better economic picture, with stabilized rates of inflation and growing economies backed by foreign investment. These nations, along with Brazil and Argentina, are increasing their trade ties and lowering their tariffs in preparation for the inception of a free trade zone between the nations, beginning in 1994. The MERCOSUR Agreement, as it is called, follows the creation of the Andean Pact which provides for free trade among the nations of the Andean region of South America.

Both the Andean Pact and the MERCOSUR agreement are representative of a Latin American movement, which is part of a larger global movement to improve national economies via regional integration. The nations of Central America are attempting to do the same via the Central American Common Market. Mexico has the same goal in negotiating a free trade agreement with the United States. In anticipation of a free trade agreement, Mexican President Carlos Salinas is revamping Mexico's economy through a program of privitization, public works investment, and the encouragement of foreign investment.

Latin America/the Caribbean and the United Nations

The Latin American region has a set of common priorities at the United Nations. First and most urgent is economic development. A heavy debt burden and a weak world market for Latin American exports hinders the economic advances of the region. Latin America has continually sought international assistance on these matters through the United Nations. The peaceful resolution of conflicts is another concern that Latin America has placed high on its U.N. agenda.

Leaders in Latin America realize that only through the proper formulation and application of governmental policies will economic and social development come about. It is also recognized that much of this must occur through their own efforts. However, the assistance of other nations is essential. Through increased cooperation and communication between regional organizations and their own initiatives, Latin American countries are improving upon the terms of trade, trying to integrate and privatize industries for a stronger industrial base, and are seeking a better understanding of their mutual interests. However, in order to make their efforts viable, countries in the region seek assistance from the developed world. Latin American countries ask that the industrialized world contribute to their development by providing resources and technology and assuring the developing countries easy access to their markets.

The following are some existing programs brought forth by the United Nations and the industrialized world to improve the economic situation in Latin America. Latin American governments continue to support the Special Plan of Economic Co-cooperation (PEC) passed by the 42nd General Assembly (Res 42/204). Now in its fourth year, the six year plan is being implemented on a local basis by government ministries and U.N. agencies such as the Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the United Nations Development Fund (UNDP) and the World Bank. International agencies, such as the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Development Bank, are also participating. The plan consists of more than fifty individual projects dealing with issues such as infrastructural development, emergency and humanitarian relief, environmentally sustainable development and private sector development. Other international programs to assist Latin America include the San Jose Accords which contain the contribution of the European Economic Community; the Sanford Commission which promotes development programs; the Brady Plan of the United States which seeks to redefine the terms of debts; and the U.S. Caribbean Basin Initiative which gives preferential treatment to exports of Latin American countries.

1991–1992 will prove to be a precedent setting period for United Nation's involvement in peace-keeping operations in Latin America. Specifically, since July 1991, the United Nations has had a 1,300 observer team (ONUSAL), at the request of the Salvadoran government, monitoring the ceasfire and political reconstruction of El Salvador in the wake of its twelve year civil war. ONUSAL has been reporting, via the Secretary General, to the Security Council and General Assembly. With authorization to act until June 1992, ONUSAL replaced the U.N. Observer Force in Central America (ONUCA) which had been active in the region since 1989. Furthermore, UNDP is breaking new ground in helping to repatriate former Salvadoran rebels. Never before have the agencies of the U.N. been so involved with a Latin American nation. Pending a cease-fire in Guatemala's 30-year civil war, the peace-keeping forces of the U.N. could become active in yet another country of the region. A growing commitment to peace and security among the leaders of the region, as evidenced by the July 1991 San Salvador Accords signed by the presidents of Central America, highlights the possibility of an increasing U.N. role in maintaining peace in the region.

In addition to having its own U.N. agenda, Latin America has in recent years been called upon to address three major issues by the United Nations environmentally sustainable development, drug production and trafficking and human rights. The environment, its preservation being linked to Latin America's development by the demands of the industrialized world, has received the greatest attention of the three issues by the nations of the region.

Along with the global challenges of the greenhouse effect and ozone depletion, the United Nations is concerned over the status of Latin America's rainforests. The rainforests are essential to regulating the balance of the earth's atmosphere and maintaining a clean regional water supply. The industrialized world views the preservation of the rainforest as essential to combating the greenhouse effect for which it is largely responsible through the burning of fossil fuels. Latin America, however, is torn between exploiting its rainforests for economic development and preserving the region for its natural assets. The rain forests of Latin America are rich in natural resources, such as high quality timber, fruits, vegetables, spices, oils, waxes and rubber. The export market for these products is a great source of wealth for the nations of the rainforest region, and thus, the rainforests are being rapidly cleared to develop these markets. Furthermore, as the population of rainforest nations increases, more rainforests are being destroyed for agricultural and industrial development and to meet the increasing energy needs of growing populations with fuelwood.

The nations of Latin America have sought the assistance of the industrialized world in addressing their problems and have also implemented their own measures, all with the goal of attaining environmentally sustainable development. This issue is the topic of the June 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil. In the preparatory meetings for the 1992 conference, the industrializing nations of Latin America and the rest of the world called for concessions such as debt relief and development assistance from industrialized nations in return for curtailing their usage of their natural resources and implementing environmental protection measures. Debt For Nature Programs, such as those implemented in Bolivia, Costa Rica and Brazil, are an example of such measures.

In addition to brokering agreements with the industrialized world to foster sustainable development, Latin American countries have also implemented their own action plans. For example, the eight nations making up the Amazon region have established The Amazonian Pact which works for the conservation of the region. In 1990, Brazil, which contains the majority of Latin America's rain forest, created the "Our Nature" program and has reduced the fire-clearing of its forests by 40 percent, banned the export of timber, and eliminated incentives for projects which prove to be harmful to the area. Brazil has also created the "Institute of the Environment" in which dozens of organizations have joined in a broad project for ecological protection.

The control of Latin American drug trafficking and production continues to be a high priority item on the U.N. agenda of several nations, particularly the United States and Western Europe, which compromise the market for the majority of this activity. Through various U.N. resolutions, several nations, including Latin American, have undertaken steps to combat the drug problem with the assistance of U.N. agencies. Recent U.N. resolutions on this matter include the 1988 Convention against Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances; the 1990 Global Program of Action approved at the General Assembly's Special Assembly on Drugs; and the December 1991 Comprehensive Multi-Disciplinary Outline and Program of Action of the United Nations Drug Control Program.

In June of 1987, a United Nations International Conference on drug abuse adopted a declaration expressing the commitment of participating states to "vigorous action" and cooperation at all levels toward the goal of an international society free of drug abuse. The 1988 Convention against the Illicit Trafficking of Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances followed. Signed by thirty four nations in Vienna on December 19, 1988, the Convention remains a prominent step in international cooperation. It is intended to insure the prosecution of drug traffickers in states where drug laws are insufficient. Included in the thirty four articles are provisions "for the seizure, and confiscation of assets derived from illicit trafficking; for the extradition of drug offenders; and for mutual legal assistance in law enforcement and judicial proceedings." The United Nations Fund For Drug Abuse Control sponsors programs within countries to organize crop substitution, provide drug awareness education, rehabilitate drug users, and increase drug law enforcement. For example, The United Nations Drug Control Program has used the U.N. fund to finance drug control operations in developing world countries, putting these operations under the direction of UNDP. According to UNDP, its crop substitution program in certain areas of Colombia has reduced the coca crop cultivation 60 to 70%.

Human Rights violations by Latin American governments have traditionally been a concern of the United Nations, owing to the history of dictatorships in the region. The nations of the region view this issue as part of their internal affairs and are generally not supporters of U.N. involvement in this matter. Most of the region's new democratic governments, such as those of Chile and Peru, have initiated their own investigations into the alleged human rights violations under the governments they replaced. Guatemala has agreed in principle to an independent investigative commission demanding first a cease-fire with its rebels, but will not allow any of its military or police officials to be prosecuted. In contrast, El Salvador is permitting a U.N. Secretary General appointed independent commission to investigate the practices of its military and police forces. The Truth Commission, as it is called, has been active in El Salvador since 1991, when it was agreed to as part of a U.N. brokered accord on human rights between the rebels and the government. The three member commission will release a public report at the conclusion of its investigation. In March of 1992, the United Nations Human Rights Commission released its 1991 report, citing Cuba and Haiti for stricter supervision and voting to continue monitoring El Salvador. The Commission also expressed concern about the situation in Guatemala.

Throughout 1991, Latin American governments have initiated reform plans and have refionally integrated in order to bolster their economies. 1992 economic indicators have demonstrated the success of their actions. However, stable economic improvement is a process that must be measured in the long term. Rebel groups, drug producers and traffickers continue to threaten the success of economic reforms in some nations and the stability of the governments implementing them. Furthermore, governments are facing increasing unrest among their people as they trim their budgets and cut services as part of their reform packages. Internationally, Latin American governments are finding it increasingly difficult to attain development assistance from the industrialized world unless they meet specific development guidelines, particularly with regard to their environments. All of these factors indicate that Latin America, although improving, will continue to remain politically and economically unstable throughout 1992.

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The Middle East

Introduction

The Middle East is a region that possesses a rich cultural past, and vast human and natural resources. The Middle East is also the fountainhead of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. At one time, ancient caravans travelled through the region exposing numerous trade and commercial pathways. The Middle East is situated in one of the most strategic locations in the world, as it straddles three continents: Europe, Africa, and Asia. The Middle East also has extensive access to major waterways such as the Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. The region is also home to the world's largest oil reserves. For these reasons, the Middle East has often been the target of many external attempts at domination and influence, yet, it has always maintained its own identity.

The Middle East is a region marked by its diversity. The region holds an accumulation of ancient heritage as it was once home to the great civilizations of Egypt, Sumer, and Babylonia. The Middle East region is reminiscent of its past history, while also the site of numerous modern cities. The combination of the heritage from the region's past combined with the drive to move forward has often created tension and resulted in conflict. In addition, the Middle East embraces numerous ethnic groups. Although the majority of the region is Arab, there are exceptions. Israel is primarily Jewish, while Iran is predominately Persian. There are also numerous smaller ethnic groups such as the Kurds. Religion is also a dominant influence in the region. Various forms of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all live together, yet, under many circumstances they collide.

The Middle East is a collection of various people, religions, ideologies, and beliefs. This diversity has resulted in both conflict and instability. The Middle East is a region of great strife, which has often been volatile in nature. Although most of the world has been focused on the Persian Gulf conflict recently, the Middle East is making progress, albeit small, towards peaceful change in the concept of a new world order. Any progress obtained in the region will mark the dawn of a new, more hopeful era not only for the Middle East, but for the world as well.

Regional cooperation

There have been numerous attempts at regional cooperation in the Middle East. Some efforts towards cooperation have proven effective, while others have fallen short of their goals. Most regional organizations can be divided into three basic categories: economic, religious, and political. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the regional Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC), operating within OPEC, are probably the most well-known economic organizations. OPEC was established over 25 years ago with the goal of providing a collective and influential body to control and monitor international production and trade of oil. OPEC

FORMERLY THE SOVIET UNION
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
TURKEY
CHINA
CYPRUS
SYRIA
LEBANON
ISRAEL
IRAQ
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
JORDAN
PAKISTAN
KUWAIT
INDIA
EGYPT
BAHRAIN
QATAR
OMAN
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
SAUDI ARABIA
OMAN
SUDAN
YEMEN
DJIBOUTI
ETHIOPIA
SOMALIA
Middle East

has held a powerful role by controlling two-thirds of the world's oil reserves, of which 66 percent is governed by Middle Eastern countries. OPEC is chiefly concerned with trade and economic issues, but in recent times OPEC and OAPEC have dabbled in international politics as well. OAPEC's involvement in politics was evident after the 1973 October War, the Yom Kippur War, between Israel, and Egypt and Syria. At the conclusion of that war, the countries supportive to Israel were subjected to price hikes and severe restrictions on oil shipments by the OAPEC countries.

OPEC's ability to successfully control the oil market is greatly hindered by the differences within its membership. It is important to note that the membership of OPEC includes nations that are not located in the Middle East. A function of OPEC is to agree on production quotas on oil, therefore maintaining a low supply of oil, and the demand and price for oil high. However, in many instances member states will exceed the quotas in search of higher profits. There are two different approaches to the international trade of oil within OPEC. In one approach some countries, who are in dire need of cash as a result of internal economic problems, are in favor of raising oil prices for quick accumulation of profits. In the other approach, other member states, mostly the small wealthy countries with immense oil reserves, are in favor of expanding OPEC's share of the oil market by keeping prices low, therefore eliminating the competition. Once OPEC is able to resolve these differences, its effectiveness should be greatly enhanced.

OPEC's ability to control the international market in the past decade has been considerably hampered by the formation of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The GCC was established in 1981 and began as a political organization to foster peace and security in the Gulf region after the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War. The GCC quickly grew into an economic forum for its six members: Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. The effort of the GCC to coordinate its members' oil production policies embroiled OPEC and most notably, members Iraq and Kuwait. Early in 1990, Saddam Hussein, President of Iraq, denounced the Gulf states for keeping the price of oil too low as a result of over-production, thus leading the poorer OPEC members into the loss of considerable revenue for the year. Later in July 1990, in an attempt to raise revenues, Saddam Hussein engineered a quota agreement that set the price of oil at approximately $24 per barrel. After the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in August, and Iraq's subsequent defeat by the multi-national coalition force, the price of oil dropped to nearly $10 per barrel. As a direct result of post-war conditions, most of OPEC's member states cannot afford to maintain the previous quota agreement. After being severely crippled in the war, both Kuwait and Iraq will want to resume oil production as soon as possible. Thus, the interaction of OPEC, particularly that of OAPEC and the GCC will continue to remain of interest.

In 1989 attempts to support economic cooperation within the region was aided by the formation of smaller groups of states. Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia established the Arab Maghreb Union. Also, the Arab Cooperation Council was established including Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Yemen. These organizations are similar to that of the European Economic Community and the GCC, in that they aim to promote free trade and economic cooperation amongst the members.

The influence of religion on the region must also be considered. Although numerous religions exist in the region, Islam is most influential religion in the area. Islam is based on complete "submission to the will of God." This "submission" to the "sharia" or Islamic Law occurs in all aspects of the Muslim's life. The interpretation of Islamic Law varies between the two distinct sects of Islam: Shi'ism and Sunnism. Shi'ism or Islamic Fundamentalism, began to sweep through the region in the mid-1970's with the revolution in Iran. The resulting Islamic theocracy has since faded as a result of the death of the Iranian leader, Ayatollah Khomenini; Iran's near-defeat in the Iran-Iraq War; and the suppression of Islamic fundamentalist groups in other countries. Islam primarily spreads its beliefs, both political and religious, through a peaceful means, although some Islamic groups, such as the Amal and Hezbollah in Lebanon, still engage in violence.

Numerous organizations have been formed to facilitate the spread of Islam, as well as to perform other political, social, and humanitarian responsibilities. One such group is the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and another is the League of the Islamic World (LIW). Established in 1969, the OIC advocates advancement for Muslim countries through the modernization of Islamic Law. The OIC maintains Observer status at the United Nations. The Islamic Re-insurance Corporation, a product of the OIC cooperation, assisted the drought victims of the Sahel in Africa. When Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, the Islamic Re-insurance Corporation and the Gulf states jointly demanded in the Mecca Declaration the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops. More recently the OIC has been less active as a result of internal dissension among its members, although its main purpose is still active by promoting Islamic ideals and projecting the cultural, social, political, and scientific qualities of Islam.

The League of the Islamic World (LIW) became most active after the oil embargoes of the early 1970's. The LIW established the Islamic Solidarity Fund with the purpose of furthering Islamic culture, education, values, and unifying Muslim sentiments. The Islamic Development Bank is another vehicle for Muslim countries to help each other. The bank allows richer Arab nations to give monetary assistance to their more needy Arab brethren.

Another well known Islamic group in the region is the Muslim Brotherhood. In the past, the Brotherhood's leaders have advocated violent seizures of power, but at present, they have abandoned this stance and are now committed to peaceful reform. In terms of its ideology, the Brotherhood refuses to accept the existence of Israel. The Brotherhood is in favor of adhering to the Sharia to assist in productively solving the economic problems plaguing the region. It is certain that Islam will continue as a strong influence in the lives of the people of the Middle East.

There are organizations formed in the Middle East that attempt to unify the region politically as well. The League of Arab States (LAS) is the most influential and respected of these organizations. The LAS is comprised of the Arabian Peninsula, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Arab portion of North Africa. It was established in 1945 with the primary purpose to mediate conflict and reach consensus in political, cultural, economic, and other policies. The LAS has Observer status in the United Nations and frequently promotes Arab concerns on substantive issues. The 21-member league, which includes the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), requires unanimity to adopt decisions, which often hampers its effectiveness due to dissention within its membership. One example of dissention within the LAS was the meeting held in May 1990, in which the pressing issues of the Palestinian "intifada" and the immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel were discussed. The meeting was dealt an early blow when all the nations were not in attendance, most notably the absence of Syria. In addition there was a great deal of discord among the states present. Egypt (which had been readmitted after being expelled for taking part in the Camp David Accords in 1977), Saudi Arabia, and other small sheikdoms wanted the LAS to show moderation in its position towards Israel and the United States. Iraq and the PLO favored a much greater militant stance in denouncing Israel and the United State's support of Israel. Egypt refused to accept the harsh condemnation of the United States and the meeting had to be extended before the group could reach a tenuous compromise.

The LAS has also encountered many troubles as a result of the Persian Gulf Conflict. Dr. Clovis Maksoud, the Ambassador of the LAS Observer Mission to the United Nations, resigned, citing the bitter divisions within the Arab world as a result of the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. In addition, Chedi Klibi, the Secretary-General of the LAS headquarters in Tunis, resigned after receiving criticism by the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia for not condemning the actions of Iraq. Thus it is quite clear that regional cooperation can only be achieved through dialogue and compromise. The different approaches to international relations, as well as different security, economic, and political concerns, are constant obstacles to the full unification of the Arab position.

Regional politics

Politics in the Middle East is a combination of various forces. The primary force is "ethnopolitics," or the involvement of various ethnic groups in political affairs. Ethnic groups can be based on different criteria, such as heritage, language, religion, race, customs, and geographic location. While the Middle East was under the control of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottomans dealt with the non-Muslim minority groups by granting them a good deal of autonomy. As the region progressed into the modern age, these nation-states have had difficulties with various ethnic groups which are increasingly involved in the political arena. The members of these groups share a sense of identity, and are loyal to the group and its cause. In some cases, such as a few Shi'ite groups, members are even willing to sacrifice their lives. As the modern nation-state has developed, conflicts based on ethnic ties have emerged as different groups compete for power and limited resources. Many groups find themselves the minority in their own nation, and feel threatened by the power of the majority. In some situations, a minority group may control the nation, and the majority is forced to submit to the rule of a smaller, but more powerful group. Some groups support cultural autonomy and political integration, such as the Muslims in Lebanon, whereas, others desire full independence, such as the Palestinians and the Kurds. Still, other groups desire full independence, but due to their size, are encouraged to merge with dominant groups such as the Christians.

In some instances, ethnic groups are denied access to the government in power and the result is violence. The existence and activities of the PLO are a prominent example of this. The PLO, in its struggle to regain a Palestinian homeland, is known for supporting violence as a means to gain power. Violence does not only occur between rebel groups and governments, but also between different ethnic groups or within the ethnic groups themselves. Warfare used by these groups is often bloody, as shown by the massacre of thousands of Palestinians during the raid on the Sabra and Shantilla refugee camps by Christian forces in Lebanon. Trust between groups is not strong, and negotiation and compromise are rare.

Following World War II, when England and France divided up the Ottoman Empire, no recognition was given to the historical boundaries that had existed for centuries. The borders of many new nation-states cut across traditional homelands of particular groups, the result of which has been numerous border disputes. Prior to the Persian Gulf Conflict, Iraq maintained that Kuwait was historically part of Iraq. This continues to emphasize that some nations of the Middle East support traditional rather that post-World War II boundaries. As the new nation-states gained their independence, they have become integral players in Middle East politics.

National interests quite often differ, and have given rise to conflicts in the region. Oil rich countries have different priorities than those of poorer nations. Some Middle East nations like Egypt, Israel, and Saudi Arabia have strong ties to the West. Problems have also emerged as other Arab states adopt anti-Western policies, such as Libya and Iraq. National conflicts have occurred over items such as border and maritime rights. Sometimes these differences result in resentment like between Syria and Iraq. In other cases the result is war. In addition, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt are in constant competition for the leadership of the Arab world.

Another important influence in Middle East politics is authoritarianism. Although the actual form of government may vary, in most of the countries, such as Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia, the government is a monarchy, with the ruler being a Sheikh, Sultan, or King. Other nations of the Middle East, such as Libya, Iraq, and Syria, have elected legislative bodies, but are dominated by single rulers. Egypt, Tunisia, Jordan, and Kuwait have begun to adopt policies that will expand democratic principles in their respective nations by allowing opposition parties, conducting freer elections, and lessening press censorship. Israel claims to be the only democracy in the region, with the executive branch subject to the confidence of the legislative branch, and a wide array of active political parties.

It has always been asserted that a Western style democracy cannot be applied in the Middle East. The rulers of the small Persian Gulf states assert that their governments provide a better life and more social justice to their people than that of Western democracies. In light of recent events, with the reinstatement of the Kuwaiti government and the subsequent treatment of its massive immigrant working class, the rule of the sheikdom has come under question. In April 1991, the Emir of Kuwait announced that some Kuwaiti's would be allowed to vote in the elections of October 1991. However, martial law still remains in Kuwait, as well as heavy press censorship and the banning of opposition groups.

Due to the many factional differences in the Middle East, many argue that a strong government is essential to the maintenance of order. The political and cultural unrest in Lebanon is often viewed as an example of what would happen if pluralism were allowed to go unchecked. In some countries, the governments would employ force at the first sign of unrest or rebellion, rather than risk a long and costly civil war as in Lebanon. In 1982, approximately 20,000 people were killed in the Syrian city of Hama when government forces were sent in to crush an uprising. Not only were thousands killed but the whole city was destroyed. The Iraqi government has used chemical weapons on its Kurdish population, which has a long history of rebellion and whose rebels colluded with the Iranians during the Iran-Iraq War. More recently, Iraq used helicopter gun-ships to overpower the Shi'ite rebellions against Saddam Hussein in Basra and other points in Southern Iraq following the Persian Gulf War. To these governments, these groups were a threat to the survival of the country as a whole, and had to be dealt with quickly and decisively in order to avoid a full-scale revolution.

Regional affairs

Most of the Middle East countries are classified as developing nations, and these nations are eminently concerned as to how to speed internal economic development. Most Arab nations are in dire need of development in the areas of industry, infrastructure, human resources, education, and health care. Many of these nations have faltering economies and are plagued by high inflation, high unemployment, and enormous external debt. In the past, low production and fluctuating world market prices have served to injure the economies of many countries in the region that rely on agriculture. Economic diversification has been a method used by many states in an attempt to reduce the dependency on agriculture. Lack of water supplies has also been a main concern for much of the Middle East. The region is predominantly arid and most of the population is concentrated in small areas with access to water. Development projects in the Middle East have quite often focused on irrigation and other means of increasing or better utilizing the water supply.

The Middle East is also troubled by a significant population growth rate. The population of the Arab world will double within 20 years as a result of the implementation of better health care and the tendency to have large families. Some governments believe population growth is a method for strengthening a nation, but, others view population growth as threatening to create even more widespread unemployment and housing shortages. A few countries have tried to limit population growth, though the traditional Islamic stance against birth control has created barriers to that effort. The environment is also a major concern. In addition to the devastating effects of the Persian Gulf War, desertification threatens the region by potentially reducing the amount of land available for agriculture.

Another obstacle which has greatly hindered the full development of the region is the major regional conflicts: the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Lebanon, and the Persian Gulf War. In the Arab-Israeli conflict, thousands of years of resentment have accumulated into one of the most enduring conflicts of the world today, spanning over 45 years. In Lebanon, various groups fighting with and among each other have destroyed a once beautiful and thriving country. With the conclusion of the Persian Gulf War and the defeat of Iraq by the coalition forces, an air of question and change has been imposed upon the entire region.

The results of the Persian Gulf War are just beginning to be evident, meanwhile, many questions and calls for change have arisen outside the focal point of Iraq. An analysis of the governments of the region is required to fully understand the change that needs to occur. Even though the Persian Gulf War has been fought and won by the coalition forces, Saddam Hussein remains in power. The Kurds and the Shi'ites' Islamic fundamentalist group, the main groups in opposition to the Iraqi government, failed to gain power in the civil unrest that followed the Persian Gulf War. At this point in time it is unlikely that any of the opposition groups will be able to overcome the present Hussein regime. Considering the ethnic and religious divisions involved, it has been very difficult to formulate a common force against Saddam Hussein.

The Emir of Kuwait and the ruling Sabah family have been successfully reinstated as the legitimate government of Kuwait. Lately there has been a lot of speculation about the true intent of the Sabah family. In 1962, Kuwait became the only Arab country in the Persian Gulf to adopt a Constitution and allow an elected Parliament, even though votes were restricted to a mere tenth of the total population. The Emir of Kuwait dissolved the Parliament in both 1976 and 1986. The government of Kuwait is known for its human rights violations and has over the past year forcibly expelled prisoners of war to Iraq in violation of the understanding between coalition partners. The 200,000 Kuwaiti's that endured the Iraqi occupation have honest demands. The "insiders", as they are known, call for free press, minimal accountability, and voting privileges for women. International pressure has caused Kuwait to provide minimal legal guarantees in trying suspected collaborators, but the reform required is much greater.

Saudi Arabia is in a similar situation as to that of Kuwait as it has long sought to avoid change and usually reacts to suggested reform by tightening control. The invasion of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia's hosting of coalition forces has had a great impact on the country. Press censorship has been lessened and the traditional workdays have been lengthened. With so much social change occurring, there has been much talk of governmental reform as well.

The Persian Gulf War was perhaps the most difficult for Jordan. Jordan's King Hussein struggled at the start of the conflict to mediate and maintain friendly relations with everyone. Before the conflict, Jordan received $50 million in aid from Iraq and $135 million from Kuwait. In addition, nearly a quarter of Jordan's exports have gone to both countries. Jordan's indecisiveness in fully supporting the coalition's forces ultimately injured Jordan both politically and financially. The consequences of Jordan's actions were considered horrible irregardless of what choice Jordan made. Jordan was a victim of economic disaster, riots, terrorism, and nearly 250,000 refugees from Iraq and Kuwait.

In direct contrast to Jordan, the Islamic Republic of Iran has gained a considerable amount of respect since the conclusion of the Persian Gulf War. The "non-interventionist" attitude of Iran during the war and Iran's treatment of the hundreds of thousands of refugees, of which most were Kurdish, helped Iran gain great respect in the West. The Iranians enjoyed the unusual position as mediator and non-combatant during the crisis and certainly benefitted from the downfall of Iraq as the largest military power in the region.

With the end of the Persian Gulf War, both Iraq and Kuwait have witnessed the total disintegration of their infrastructure and normal way of life. Both nations are in dire need of continued reconstruction and suffer from severe conditions in health, education, and sanitation. Both nations also suffer economically due to the loss of oil revenues as a result of the war. In addition, Iraq is in a difficult position because of the U.N. sanctions placed on the country after the invasion of August, 1990. The future of both nations will depend on assistance from the West as well as each country's ability to rebuild.

A peace process has begun towards a solution to most of the major conflicts of the region. The Middle East Peace Conference that began in Madrid in October 1991 has been anything but sure and steady. Nevertheless, progress is being made with the simple fact that delegations from Israel, Lebanon, Syria, and the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation have been meeting face-to-face and addressing regional disputes. Since Madrid, there have been three more peace talks in Washington and one in Moscow. The Moscow talks included a whole range of Arab states, including Saudi Arabia and others, which used to deny Israel's existence.

The talks since Madrid have mainly consisted of Syria's demand for the return of the Golan Heights and the Palestinian's demand to be treated as a state-in-waiting with both receiving disapproval by Israel, and Israel's demand for its acceptance. Even though most of the talks thus far have encompassed the exchange of verbal blows, these exchanges serve a strong purpose. With each encounter, the Arabs see that they are going to have to bargain for the recovery of their land. The Israelis also learn that the Arab world has dropped its usual prohibition on addressing Israel.

Many Arab nations are dismayed by the talks, as they believe that they have benefitted disproportionately from the diplomacy than that of Israel. Whereas the Arabs have put forth their willingness to negotiate the regional disputes, the

Israelis have not been willing to negotiate territorial compromise. Thus the peace process will be a slow one. Progress will come over time in stages. Although the present Israeli government is unwilling to make territorial compromises, its treaty with Egypt provides for an interim period of self-government to the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and to start discussing the final status of those places three years after the onset of the period of self-government. At the present time, Israel has been meeting its obligations.

Under the plan for peace, the bilateral talks are to be complimented by multilateral talks, at which a larger group of countries are to be represented. The first multilateral conference took place in Moscow in January 1992. The most significant result of the conference was the creation of five committees which are scheduled to meet in May. The five committees will discuss refugees, the environment, water, economic development, and arms control and will meet in Ottawa, Tokyo, Vienna, Brussels, and Washington respectively.

The talks have produced some indications of tension easing. The Israelis reopened Bir Zeit, the main university on the West Bank, which had been closed after the beginning of the "intifada." The Syrians have taken a more drastic measure in lifting travel restrictions on its Jewish population. In the future, the Syrian Jews will be allowed to travel abroad without having to deposit money and forfeit property with the government or leave close relatives behind. The future of the peace talks depends on all parties' willingness to make compromises. It is most important to realize that the talks are just the beginning on the road towards obtaining peace in the Middle East.

The Arab–Israeli conflict

The core of most Middle East conflicts addressed at the United Nations has always been the Arab-Israeli Conflict. Most recently the world witnessed this conflict quite clearly as Saddam Hussein bombarded Israel with SCUD Missiles in an attempt to draw Israel into the Gulf war. At the heart of the now forty-five year old matter are three strips of land: the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank, and the fact that the Arab states have not accepted Israel.

Historically, Jews have a particular attachment to Palestine. Their expulsion from this "promised land," called the Diaspora, occurred in the First Century A.D. It is important to note that throughout history there has been a continual Jewish presence in the area. Theodore Herzl's "Der Judenstaat (The Jewish State)," written in 1897, inspired Jews to establish the World Zionist Congress and the National Jewish Fund. Zionism, the resulting movement, channeled Jewish sentiments for a homeland into a viable and determined political force. By 1914, 80,000 Jews had unofficially settled in Palestine through Zionist encouragement and support.

In 1916, the British made an agreement with resident Arabs to enlist Arab support against the Ottoman Turks during World War I. In a 1915 letter agreement, Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, promised Sherif Hussein of Mecca Arab independence in the region if Hussein and his troops revolted against the Turks. Concurrently in 1916, Britain and France discussed and negotiated the secret Sykes-Picot agreement, in which the Middle East would be divided into British and French spheres of influence. It was at this point in time that traditional boundaries in the Middle East were discarded as the British and French drew new national boundaries. In 1917, the British promised to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration a homeland in Palestine. This promise, exchanged for Jewish support during the war effort, was accomplished outside the previous Arab agreement. In 1922, the League of Nations entrusted Great Britain with the administration of the territory through the Palestine Mandate. However, violence increased against the Jews, who were still flowing in great numbers to the region.

The events concluding World War II found Jews fleeing to Palestine and to freedom. The British Royal Commission recommended a division of Palestine into two separate states: one Arab and one Jewish. This plan was implemented by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP). This committee proposed both a partition plan and a cohesive Palestine. The partition plan was eventually adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1947 and enacted in 1948 with the hope that the nations would establish economic unity and with time promote trade and diplomatic ties. After much consideration, the Jews accepted the United Nations plan, while the Arabs rejected it. As a result of Resolution #181, the General Assembly approved some changes in the Palestinian Partition Plan. Palestine was divided into eight parts: three allocated to the Jewish and three to the Arab divisions. The seventh division, the town of Jaffa, was to form an Arab enclave within Jewish territory. The eighth division, consisting of Jerusalem, would be administered by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. By this resolution, the General Assembly also established the United Nations Palestine Commission to carry out its recommendations to implement the Partition Plan.

Zionists declared Israel's statehood on 14 May 1948 as British troops withdrew from Palestine. The following day, the Arab Liberation Army (ALA), comprised of seven separate Arab armies from neighboring countries, invaded the newly created Israel. The conflict caused resident Palestinians to flee to surrounding countries. In addition, hundreds of thousands of Jews fled from Arab countries to Israel. The remaining Palestinian land, as well as Jerusalem, was split between Jordan and Egypt, causing friction as Jews were banned from the Holy city. The United Nation's effort to secure peace in the region, as seen in the institution of the Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in December 1949, as well as the Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) on 11 June 1948, helped assist the refugees as well as the armistice.

The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was created in 1956 to maintain peace along the Egyptian-Israeli border. After being asked to withdraw in 1967, Egypt mobilized troops and weapons on its border. The 1967 Six-Day War witnessed the defeat of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria by Israel. This was a defensive war for Israel and as a result of the war, Israel made considerable territorial gains. Their control now expanded to include the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai Desert. With heightened tensions enveloping the Six-Day War, the United Nations Security Council intervened, adopting Resolution #242, which called for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, requiring the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied territories, the termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty of every state. In 1969, the General Assembly supported the political goals of the Palestinians which enhanced the international status of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Israeli dominance in the region, established by their performance in the Six-Day War, was constantly challenged by PLO attacks. In the October War (Yom Kippur War) of 1973, Egypt and Syria, under the leadership of Anwar Sadat, attacked Israel. This war brought about U.N. Security Council resolution #338. This resolution called for an immediate cease-fire, the termination of all military activity 12 hours after adoption of this decision and the implementation of Resolution #242. Resolution #338 spawned the UNEF II and the U.N. Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Golan Heights.

In the years following this resolution, Arab and Israeli tensions have fluctuated. In 1974, the United Nations recognized the PLO as the official representative of the Palestinian people and granted them Observer Status. In 1977, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat visited Jerusalem in an effort to establish direct relations with Israel and Egypt. The Palestinian problem as well as regional peace were central concerns of Arabs and Israelis alike, yet a majority of Arab states and the PLO condemned Egypt's efforts. The Camp David Peace Accords, negotiated by Anwar Sadat, Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel, and President Jimmy Carter of the United States, marked the beginning of the peace process with identifiable results. Egypt's aspirations for peace with Israel were fulfilled although it was expelled from the LAS. While the Palestinian question remained, other conflicts between Israel and Egypt, such as the Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai, national recognition, and diplomatic tension, were diminished.

The beginning of the "intifada," or the "shaking off," of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, resulted from a confrontation between Israeli soldiers and a crowd of angry Palestinians in December, 1987. The next few months were marked by countless uprisings in the Occupied Territories. Groups of young Palestinians took to the streets throwing objects while others organized many acts of civil disobedience, such as general strikes, the early closing of shops, and the boycotting of Israeli goods. The PLO supported the "intifada." Local popular committees were formed within the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to organize the revolt into a strong and lasting movement. Demonstrations in support of the "intifada" were carried out by Arabs living in Israel itself. The uprisings have resulted in more than revolts against Israel and the Israeli people. The revolts have also encompassed attacks of Palestinians against Palestinians as well as attacks against civilians. Nevertheless, after a few months the momentum was lost as no progress seemed to be made and the Israelis were able to withstand economic pressure. Any use of force by the Palestinians was met by the might of the Israeli army. The rebellion appeared to have died out when in May 1990, a former Israeli military officer opened fire on a group of unarmed Palestinians. The Israeli government maintained that the soldier was in no way acting in accord with the Israeli government. Once again the Palestinians took to the streets in some of the most intense rioting since the beginning of the "intifada."

While the Arab states believe the "intifada" was a courageous independence movement, the Israelis view the "intifada" as a threat to Israeli security. As a result the Israeli government has clamped down on the "intifada," reportedly utilizing methods such as deportation, mass arrests, nightly curfews, and increased military presence to suppress the rebellion. Rioting Palestinians have been met with Israeli soldiers armed with tear gas, riot sticks, rubber and plastic bullets, and sometimes live ammunition. Between December 1987 and May 1988, the height of the uprising, approximately 230 Palestinians were killed and over 5,000 were arrested. It is obvious that the rebellion has served to bring the Palestinian question to the forefront of international politics once again. The Arab bloc has become a bit more unified in its support of the "intifada," and Israel has come under even more international pressure to find a solution for peace in the Occupied Territories.

Another problem which has emerged in the Arab-Israeli Conflict is the recent immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union into Israel. Although the settlement of the Occupied Territories has now become more of a political statement, the move was enacted to deal with the 100,000 Soviet Jews that were allowed to come to Israel and the subsequent housing shortage there. The Palestinians fear that they will be forced off their land to make way for the new settlers. In this sense, the Arabs have attracted a great deal of sympathy in the international community. The immigration to the territories has not ceased and the issue continues to be a hindrance to peace.

Following the Persian Gulf War, the United States embarked to accomplish what had never been accomplished before: a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict through a Middle East Peace Conference. A solution was a possible reality because of two major developments: the collapse of the Soviet Union and the American-led coalition victory in the Gulf War.

The conference was co-sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union and convened in Madrid on 30 October 1991. Following introductory speeches, the conference broke up into three sets of bilateral negotiations in which the Israeli's met face to face with the Syrian and Lebanese delegations and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. While little substance was achieved in Madrid, the fact that these nations met with one another was alone a historic event.

Currently, Israel and Syria are trapped in an unproductive argument over the meaning of Resolution #242. Syria believes that Israel must promise to return the Golan Heights before getting into details of peace. The Israelis believe that they have met the recommendations of Resolution #242 with the return of the Sinai Desert to Egypt. Debate continues and hopefully a compromise can be reached.

The other side of the debate is between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Israel and the Palestinians have been working towards an interim arrangement for Palestinian self-government in the territories. Both sides will benefit from an interim period of Palestinian self-government. Israel could make progress towards establishing peaceful relations with its neighbors and an end to Palestinian uprisings without formally giving up its claim to and control of the occupied territories. The Palestinians on the other hand, could reduce the burden of the Israeli military government and operate their own affairs. Within the Egyptian-Israeli Camp David Accords of 1978, a pre-negotiated framework for the interim period has been established. The Palestinians would be granted a five-year period for self-governance. Within the first three years, negotiations on the final status of the territory at the end of the term will be determined.

Both the Palestinians and the Israelis have different proposals on the structure of the interim period, each of which favors one final settlement for the end of the term. The Palestinians want to move right away to establish most of the powers of a state. To start, they wish to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-government Authority (PISGA) with full executive, legislative, and judicial powers. PISGA's authority would be derived from free elections less any external influence. PISGA would have full control of the land, water and air-space of all the territories occupied since 1967. The Israeli troops would have to withdraw from all populated areas before the elections for PISGA would be held and then to the border by the time the new government would be installed. A United Nations peacekeeping force along with a Palestinian police force would ensure security and public order.

The Israeli proposal for the interim period is very different from that of the Palestinians. Isreal's proposal offers self-governing arrangements for the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories. Israelis would be allowed to continue to live and settle in the territory. Although there would be Palestinian police to administer criminal affairs, the sole responsibility for full security would be Israel's. Israel would also remain the source of authority and all the existing laws that apply to the territories would remain in tact.

Neither proposal fully resembles the ideas contained within the Camp David Accords. The Israeli proposal provides for a strong police force and the Palestinian proposal provides for a more permanent and stately form of government, both of which do not fully encompass the idea established in the Camp David Accords. The future of the Arab-Israeli relations relies upon whether either side is willing to make concessions. No matter how emotionally charged and complicated the issue remains, there may not be a settlement for this critical conflict in the Middle East for years, yet this conference was not an end but merely just the beginning.

Lebanon

In 1860, conflict in Lebanon began with the two major religious groups: the Druze and the Maronites. It was the start of many ethnic tensions that, with the introduction of external interference, would later aggravate internal strife and introduce Lebanon into a bloody 20th century. Religious groups, mainly Orthodox, Catholic, and Maronite Christians, Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims, and Druze, demanded a political system which would fairly represent each group and maintain enough order to strengthen Lebanon. As a result of a 1932 census by the French, the government was organized according to a six-to-five Christian-Muslim ratio. This unwritten agreement, known as the National Pact, prescribed that Lebanon's President would be Maronite, the Prime Minister would be a Sunni Muslim, and the Speaker of the House would be a Shi'ite Muslim. Although this practice was never included in the Lebanese Constitution, it is one method of dividing political influence according to the 1932 count. Consensus was achieved for a short period of time while Muslims and Christians were satisfied that neither would control Lebanon. In 1943, Lebanon gained its independence and separated from Syria. Since Israel's declaration of independence and the violence that followed, the conflict has created over 500,000 refugees in Lebanon.

With Syrian backing, the PLO began to take military control of South Lebanon and launched raids on Israel. The PLO raids cost Lebanon greatly as Beirut itself was subject to retaliatory Israeli attacks and, in 1975, civil war erupted in Lebanon. During "Operation Litani" in 1978, Israel invaded Lebanon in an attempt to forcibly remove the PLO from Lebanon. After three days of debate, the Security Council adopted Resolution #425 requesting the withdrawal of Israel and the establishment of the U.N. Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). UNIFIL's main purpose included overseeing the withdrawal, securing international peace, and assisting the local population. Unfortunately, foreign intervention and warring local groups made UNIFIL less than successful. In addition, the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) repeatedly side-stepped UNIFIL's mandate. Israel re-entered Lebanon at will, sometimes creating and other times reacting to conflict. In 1981, the U.N. increased UNIFIL's troops from 6,000 to 7,000 to reduce the escalating tensions. UNIFIL's presence then fulfilled only one of its objectives; it stalled conflict while the U.N. sought a peaceful resolution to Lebanon's strife.

In 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon again, bypassing both Resolution #425 and UNIFIL. The purpose of the invasion was to establish a 25-mile buffer zone for Israel, demolish the PLO, and structure a new government more amenable towards Israel in Lebanon. Syria, meanwhile, noting the weakened government in Lebanon, saw a direct inroad to influence Lebanese politics, and invaded Lebanon as well. UNIFIL then became a sheltering force, helping the victims of the war zone and offering protection for the local population.

The 1982 invasion was followed by the creation of a Multinational Force (MNF I) upon the request of Lebanon. Lebanon chose three countries: France, Italy, and the United States, to help design a workable-peacekeeping force. This force, supporting the Lebanese army (LAF), assisted the departure of both Syria and the PLO from Beirut. Although the PLO did leave and MNF I completed its tasks, violence arose again. Only two days after the withdrawal of MNF I, a Christian Lebanese militia stormed into the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shantilla, brutally killing several hundred inhabitants. The Arabs held the Israelis responsible for the attack. International outrage against the Israeli invasion and the massacre caused the Israeli Prime Minister to investigate. He found that although the Israeli troops did not participate in the killings, they did knowingly allow them to take place. With the Sabra and Shantilla attacks, Lebanon again requested the help of foreign powers to contain the hostilities. MNF II was instituted within weeks of the uprisings and enlisted the aid of the three previous MNF I powers plus the United Kingdom.

MNF II sought to support the failing LAF while reassuring the population by its presence.

Israel and Lebanon negotiated a withdrawal in which the Syrians would be expected to leave Lebanon first, then Israel would retreat to its own border. Syria's reluctance to comply with this agreement nullified the plan. Although both Israeli and Syrian troops were to leave Lebanon, Syria did not feel it was necessary and opposed the treaty. In 1983, more bloodshed occurred as 241 U.S. Marines and 50 French soldiers were killed by terrorist attacks. In 1987, the fighting in Lebanon increased tremendously with the Druze and the Lebanese Communists aligning to fight the Shi'ite group, Amal. Syria once again became involved in the Lebanese conflict when it sent troops into the war-torn country in an effort to enforce a cease-fire. Today the Syrian troops remain in Lebanon, and the fighting continues.

The government has undergone numerous changes since 1988 when the six year term of President Amin Gemayel expired. With the Christians and Muslims unable to agree on a new President, Gemayel appointed General Michel Aoun as President of a transitional government, consisting of both Christians and Muslims. Aoun was fiercely opposed to the Syrian occupation and had utilized the Lebanese army to battle the Syrian troops in an effort to force them out of the country. Aoun was challenged by the Parliament, which had been dormant for a year, when it met in Saudi Arabia to elect a new President and discuss greater representation for Muslims in the Lebanese government. The result was the Parliament's election of a Christian, Rene Muawad, as President. Muawad was soon assassinated and replaced by another Christian, Elias Hrawi. The Parliament also gave its approval to a new constitution calling for the end to the Christian domination in Lebanese politics. At present, Syrian troops hold positions 4 miles north of the Lebanese city of Sidon, and 25 miles north of the Israeli-Security Zone. However, the Muslim controlled Hrawi government remains in power and has enacted a plan to demilitarize Beirut and re-enforce the legitimacy of the central government in Lebanon. Terrorism has remained a way of life in Lebanon. As a breeding ground for terrorist groups like the Islamic Hezbollah and the Islamic Amal, both Shi'ite and Muslim groups, the city of Beirut is still considered a "dangerous city." The kidnapping of foreigners living or visiting Beirut has become frequent in the last ten years, and is used as a tactic by many groups to gain the release of Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners abroad. In total, approximately 90 foreigners had been taken hostage in Lebanon between 1984 and 1990. Although most of the Western hostages have been released, many experts believe that the captors still have powerful incentives in keeping hostages as they provide prestige and give the captors an identity. The civil unrest that has plagued everyday life in Lebanon continues, seemingly without end. Numerous forces fight amongst each other and themselves, while outside forces, namely Israel and Syria, intervene with their own troops.

Some Lebanese officials hope that the Middle East Peace Conferences will ultimately lead to the restoration of Lebanese sovereignty. Lebanon's current situation is clearly transitional. The reality is that Syria controls the north and Israel controls its "security zone" in the south. Caught in the middle of the conflict are the people of Lebanon, whose greatest wish is to witness the return of peace to their country.

The Persian Gulf conflict

In 1990, the politics of the Middle East had been totally dominated by the Persian Gulf War. On 2 August 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait and overthrew the government. The invasion caused the world's first post-cold war crisis and united almost the entire international community against Iraq. In the U.N. Security Council, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France led the opposition to Iraq on the diplomatic front and helped secure Security Council resolutions condemning the invasion and imposing sanctions.

Within hours of the invasion, the Security Council had adopted its first of many monumental resolutions dealing with the conflict. On 2 August 1990, the Security Council adopted Resolution #660 which condemned the invasion and demanded that Iraq withdraw immediately and unconditionally to the point at which they were located on 1 August 1990. This resolution was adopted unanimously with an abstention from Yemen and it marked a new era of United Nation's involvement in peace and security issues. On 6 August 1990, the Security Council mobilized world support to impose mandatory trade and financial sanctions against Iraq. Security Council Resolution #661 imposed mandatory economic sanctions against Iraq with the exception of medical supplies and foodstuffs for humanitarian assistance. Although products still reached Iraq through neighboring Jordan, the economic sanctions effectively sealed off Iraq from the rest of the world.

At the request of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, American troops began to arrive in Saudi Arabia to protect Saudi Arabia from any aggression from Iraq. Soon the American forces were to be joined by smaller forces from Great Britain, France, and many other countries to form a multinational coalition against Iraq. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria played a significant role in the coalition against the aggression on Kuwait. Diplomatic efforts also abounded. Both Jordan's King Hussein and the former United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar attempted to find diplomatic solutions to the crisis hoping to avoid the military conflict. These efforts produced nothing and the

United Nations responded with an endorsement to use force.

Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council passed Resolution #678 on 29 November 1990 which demanded that Iraq comply with Resolution #660 and all other relevant resolutions by 15 January 1991. If Iraq did not comply by that time, the member-states in cooperation with the Kuwaiti government were authorized to use "all necessary means" to compel Iraq to comply. Last minute attempts before the deadline by France, Iran and the Soviet Union produced no progress. As a result, 17 January 1991 saw the implementation of the use of "all necessary means" as interpreted by the coalition force of some twenty nations.

On 17 January, the coalition forces began massive aerial attacks against targets in Iraq and Kuwait. Throughout the conflict Iraq launched Scud attacks on Israel in an attempt to draw Israel into the war. Israel did not enter into the war as security against the attacks was provided by the American forces. After six weeks of an air campaign, the ground war began on 24 February producing few casualties for the coalition forces. On 27 February, 100 hours after the ground attack had begun, the ground war stopped. Kuwait had been liberated. In April, Iraq accepted terms for a permanent cease-fire which included the United Nations supervised destruction of all chemical and biological weapons, ballistic missiles, and nuclear facilities; Iraqi compensation to Kuwait and other nations for damages incurred during the war; a demilitarized zone along the border between Kuwait and Iraq. Full compliance with the demands would result in the gradual lifting of sanctions.

Following the acceptance of the cease-fire conditions, the Security Council established the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM). The purpose of UNIKOM was to monitor the waterway and the demilitarized zone between the Iraq and Kuwait. The United Nations Special Commission was also established to oversee the destruction and removal of all of Iraq's chemical and biological weapons and related facilities. The Commission also assisted the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in the handling of Iraq's nuclear capabilities.

In the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, perhaps the greatest casualty of the war was the environment. The largest environmental threat was the 600 Kuwaiti oil wells that were set afire by the Iraqis as a desperate attempt to sever Kuwaiti oil production and to hamper coalition forces in their advance upon the Iraqi forces. The ensuing fires, which are now extinguished, have created numerous problems, not only for the Kuwaitis, but for the whole region. Smoke from the burning wells, in the form of soot and gas, covered large portions of southwestern Iran, eastern Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, as well as portions of Iraq. The resulting "black rain" and thick smog had been reported as far away as Turkey.

The "black rain" has had severe negative effects on the region. Virtually overnight, the fires had increased the carbon dioxide emissions of the planet by a full ten percent. The United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) estimated that the burning wells emitted smokewith a hydrogen sulfur content far above the lethal limit. The smog reduces solar radiation and increases the acidity of precipitation. Acid rain had an impact on Bulgaria in the West and India in the East. The ultimate effects of the fires is not known, but experts believe public health, agriculture, and the terrestrial and marine environments will be hard hit. The effects of the tremendous atmospheric pollution may accelerate global warming, rapid desertification and widespread drought.

Efforts to cap the blazing wells by the work of both U.N. and private agencies are complete at this time. The oil wells set afire by the Iraqis are only one of the resulting environmental damages in the Persian Gulf. There were also millions of gallons of oil purposely spilled into the Persian Gulf. The resulting massive oil slick has claimed the lives of incredible amounts of sea life and birds. Experts believe that many species of the Persian Gulf will be destroyed by the end of the century and that the potential for recovery is slight.

The massive aerial bombardment is another aspect to the environmental damage which occurred during the hostility. The coalition forces flew more than 2,000 aircraft bombing runs a day at the onset of the hostilities. These runs dropped 88,500 tons of bombs which were directed at Iraqi military installations throughout Iraq, including rural, industrial, and urban centers. The environmental damage from the sustained runs flown by the coalition forces is tremendous. Although the extent of the damage to the environment by a bomb depends on the bomb's size, the terrestrial destruction of the area was enormous. Since many of the bombs were directed at chemical and nuclear plants, the release of toxic chemicals in large quantities could also prove disastrous.

The injury to the terrain may be quite underestimated and the effects of the bombing may be greater than expected. At this point in time, the true consequences and the environmental damage caused by the Persian Gulf War are still being examined. One important point to bear in mind is that the entire Middle East as well as other regions of the world will be affected by the blatant disregard for the environment as witnessed in the Persian Gulf.

The end of the Gulf War also found the Hussein regime challenged by opposition groups within Iraq. Opposition to Saddam Hussein's regime has been around a very long time, but the government policing methods had suppressed this opposition in the past. The Gulf War changed the motivation of the opposition forces. Viewing the government in its weakened position, the opposition groups opted to take advantage of the situation.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait precipitated the exodus of more than one million people into neighboring countries, mainly Jordan, Turkey, and Iran. These people formed the opposition and hoped that a popular revolt would have Saddam Hussein removed from power. At the war's end the Shi'ites in the south and the Kurds in the north erupted in a revolution. Within days the revolt had spread to major cities. Iraq fought back hard with its elite Republican Guard, devastating the opposition with their superior firepower and helicopter gunships. Soon the Hussein government regained control of the cities.

The Kurdish revolt erupted in the north in both rural and urban areas. Within the first few days the rebels gained control of several major urban centers. In a short time the rebels claimed to have gained control of most of Kurdistan. After crushing the revolts in the south, the Iraqi forces moved north and launched an offensive to retake all the urban centers. The Kurdish forces fell just as did the Shi'ite forces because they were not adequately prepared for the Iraqi forces.

The Kurds fled into the mountains of Turkey and Iran as refugees. The masses of people in the mountains were in dire need of humanitarian assistance. A massive humanitarian effort was mounted to supply the refugees with food, medicine, and shelter. On 5 April 1991, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution #688 which approved the establishment of a "safe zone" in Iraq north of the thirty-sixth parallel that would be protected by coalition military forces.

The Kurds have been actively seeking autonomy on their traditional lands in Iraq through negotiations with the government in Baghdad. Kurdish autonomy, which was first accepted by the Iraqi government in 1971, would give the Kurds self-rule and control over a major share of the resources of the northern area of Iraq. The 1971 agreement broke down when the Iraqi government reneged on key provisions. Thus far, negotiating with the Iraqi government was the only course that had been authorized by the so-called Kurdish front, which is the group of all eight Kurdish parties and local Kurdish chieftains. The recent attempt to legalize an autonomy arrangement with the Iraqi government, which began in March 1991, had collapsed in late autumn of 1991. The Kurds plan on holding an election in mid-May 1992. The Iraqi government has no objection to a local Kurdish assembly, but Iraq's neighbors are fearful that this process will spread to their own minorities. The plight of the Kurds will continue.

The Middle East and the United Nations

The Middle East has been the focus of the United Nations since its creation in 1945. The conflicts within the region are constantly on the agenda of the General Assembly. The intervention of the United Nations and the Secretary

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General were responsible for the liberation of Kuwait from Iraq. Numerous peacekeeping forces—UNIFIL, UNDOF, UNEF, etc.—have been sent into the region to try to bring about an end to the violence. The Palestinian problem has been dealt with in many ways within the United Nations as well. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (CIERPP), the Special Commission on Israeli Practices, and the Human Rights Commission are only a handful of the committees that deal with the Palestinian issue. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees assists thousands of palestinians displaced by the hostilities. It is obvious that the world community is extremely concerned with the problems that continue to plague the Middle East.

All of the nations in the Middle East are active within the United Nations. Israel's participation in the United Nations arena is guided by a set of principles. First, political conflicts should not interfere with social and humanitarian issues. Second, Israel condemns economic sanctions and boycotts and third, the Israeli delegation rarely walks out of a session as a protest, even when there is strong anti-Israeli sentiment. Within the United Nations, Israel is known for its dramatic presentations, which often contain vital information about the conditions in the Middle East and the role Israel plays in it. All in all, Israel is not alarmed with the constant criticism it receives in the United Nations on various issues such as the Palestinian question, its alleged nuclear capability, and its ties to South Africa. Israel has been especially attacked by the more aggressive Arab states. For the most part, Israel believes that Arab demands made in the United Nations dealing with the Middle East are outrageous, and that the Arab countries are more interested in discrediting Israel than promoting peace in the region. In many instances, Israel finds itself isolated, either voting by itself or only with the United States and a few others. Not many nations, with the exception of South Africa, have to withstand constant criticism to the extent Israel does.

To the Arab nations, the United Nations is not viewed as a tool solely to verbally attack Israel. The Arab states often use the United Nations as a forum to discuss the pressing issues facing the Middle East. Egypt has always called for an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations. Other Arab nations have requested that the Security Council deploy observer forces to monitor the human rights violations resulting from the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The United Nations is also an opportunity for the Middle East countries to deal with other pressing issues that effect the regionsuch as development programs. Many of the countries of the Middle East are not unlike other developing nations with problems such as rapid population growth and lack of water supplies. Most of the Arab countries are members of the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has played a large role in the region, helping to institute various development programs. Egypt and Jordan have worked with the World Bank to receive assistance with the alleviation of their huge external debts. For the Arab nations, the United Nations is not only a forum to discuss the conflicts in the Middle East, it is a forum to help promote economic growth throughout the region.

Despite the end of the Persian Gulf War, many more conflicts still rage on in this critical region of the world. Although peace in the region will be a difficult task, optimism is expressed in the Middle East Peace Conferences every time they meet. The United Nations will continue to play an ever increasing role in the Middle East.

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In a world vastly transformed by sweeping democratic reform, the dynamics of the relationship between the United States and Canada have necessarily changed, but the solid relationship endures. The two nations are neighbors on one of the most stable and plentiful continents in the world. Stability comes from their representative democratic systems of government; plenty from their resource-abundant land which is sparsely populated by world standards. The continent's agricultural production accounts for the bulk of the world's grain products. Sharing coastlines on three oceans, the two nations have political interests that stretch far beyond their own shores, looking to Europe and increasingly to developing regions, Latin America, the Pacific and the Middle East. A commonality of purpose has developed from longstanding historical, economic and strategic ties, as well as from the more contemporary parallel political views of U.S. President George Bush and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Canada and the U.S. have also created the most conducive atmosphere for bilateral trade in the world, signing a Free Trade Agreement in 1989 which continues to increase the economic interdependence of the two countries.

Relations between these two nations are marked by different approaches to some issues and occasionally palpable tension between the two societies. As the United States increases its international influence and enjoys a position as the world's sole superpower, Canadians tend to feel threatened by the society which lies just across the border. The open and unarmed border between the two states, the longest in the world, at times symbolizes social and economic vulnerability to Canadians. The recent Free Trade Agreement concluded between the two nations has heightened this feeling, as the Canadian economy has taken more time to adjust to changed market conditions and to reap the promised benefits of the agreement than originally anticipated. Canada looks inward to the demands of its burgeoning Asian population and to the constitutional crisis precipitated by Quebec's demands for recognition as a "distinct society." The U.S. faces somewhat similar domestic racial tensions and is feeling the aftershocks of a worldwide recession.

Despite apparent similarities such as democratic governments, industrialized economies and multi-cultural societies, the U.S. and Canada present themselves differently to the world. As a superpower, the U.S. projects its influence both militarily and economically, acting unilaterally if necessary to achieve policy objectives. Such foreign policy options have not been chosen by Canada, which has relied more on "constructive multilateralism" to enhance its profile in the international arena. Through their actions in regional and international affiliations and their foreign policy approaches, the U.S. and Canada have created unique identities in the world community. As some of the more conspicuous threats to world stability, namely the presence of a Soviet communist bloc in Russia and eastern Europe, have been alleviated, the two nations have lost one common enemy. In this changed world context,

Bering Sea
Arctic Ocean
Greenland Sea
GREENLAND
(DENMARK)
ICELAND
Gulf of Alaska
Hudson Bay
Labrador Sea
CANADA
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
North Pacific Ocean
North Atlantic Ocean
MEXICO
Gulf of Mexico
Caribbean Sea
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
North America

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however, the economic and political interdependence of Canada and the United States remains assured. Their different approaches to international relations and different perspectives on world issues complement each other well and contribute to a strong and lasting alliance.

International and regional organizations

In the aftermath of World War II's destruction, the United States and Canada took active roles in rebuilding the countries destroyed by war and in the development of international organizations. Both nations have been Member States of the United Nations since the 1945 Charter Conference in San Francisco. In addition, along with Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy, both are members of the Economic Summit Countries (ESC), an affiliation which provides an open forum for these "top seven" economic powers to collaborate on international economic problems. Canada and the U.S. also actively participate in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). While the OECD promotes the coordination of economic and social policies, GATT seeks to regulate trade on a global scale.

The primary defense alliance in which the United States and Canada participate is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a multi-national collective defense organization linking Canada and the U.S. with Western Europe. Both countries have much invested in the defense of Europe, financially, psychologically and in the form of troop commitments (although Canada withdrew its military forces from the continent in the early 1990s). For this reason, both have been reluctant to disband the organization despite German reunification, the political changes in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. NATO's quick response and political consensus during the war with Iraq have augmented the status of this organization for North America. However, Canada and the United States face domestic pressure to reduce their military presence in Europe as a means of cutting federal spending and reappropriating the funds to address domestic needs. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) complements NATO and encompasses the nations of Europe, North America and the former Soviet Union. Its mandate covers security, political and economic as well as human and social matters.

The primary organization in the Western Hemisphere in which the United States and Canada participate, the Organization of American States (OAS), promotes peace, security and mutual understanding among its member nations. Canada, a member of the organization only since the 1980s, has strong relationships with OAS members, and, despite unpopular unilateral actions in the past, the United States has become increasingly aligned with the OAS. Both the U.S. and Canada realize the need for policy coordination and consultation with other member states.

Despite their joint presence in many organizations, Canada differs from the United States by its membership in the British Commonwealth which encompasses 49 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Pacific, and Europe. This combines with membership in the Economic Summit Countries and La Francophonie, a loose alliance of French-speaking nations, to give Canada a distinction that no other nation in the world can claim; the ties gained by Canada in these three socio-political and economic organizations span more than 80 different nations. More than 65 of these nations are developing countries, primarily on the African continent, and Canada tends therefore to recognize developing world perspectives and to integrate them into its foreign policy planning. The United States gains ties with developing nations through bilateral aid programs, involvement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and participation in many other international and regional development agencies. American contributions to international development totalled $11.4 billion in 1990, $46 per capita, as compared to $2.5 billion, or $93 for each Canadian man, woman and child.

The United States has entered into additional regional treaty relationships, such as the Australia, New Zealand, United States Pact (ANZUS) and the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). ANZUS has proved relatively successful despite controversy over U.S. vessels carrying nuclear weapons into ports in New Zealand's self-declared nuclear free zone. The OECS was involved in American intervention in Grenada in 1989, requesting and authorizing U.S. intervention. These alliances expand the arena of interest for the U.S. and influence American policy by necessitating the incorporation of diverse perspectives in the policy formulation process. As a result of their international and regional affiliations, therefore, Canada and the United States become even more engaged in world issues than their already broad national interests would dictate.

Regional politics

As noted above, the U.S. and Canada have an interest in virtually every issue and every nation in the world. In addition to general commitments to world peace, democracy, free trade and economic prosperity, a shifting world map of politico-economic alliances demands foreign policies that are flexible and regional in focus to meet new world problems and promises. The war with Iraq has elevated the Middle East to regional priority. The emerging post-Cold War environment in Europe has invited a form of neo-Atlanticism rather than disengagement from the European continent. At the same time, both the U.S. and Canada have become increasingly interested in the developing democracies in Latin America, the booming Pacific Rim countries and the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa. While faced with the same world events, the U.S. and Canada work well together as they interpret these events in different ways and attempt to forge distinct places in the world order.

North America and the Middle East

In the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, the focus of U.S. foreign policy has turned increasingly to the Middle East. Both the United States and Canada are involved in international efforts to solve the problem of Kurdish refugees in Turkey and Iran, although neither nation has provided more than rhetorical support to the Kurdish and Shiite insurgencies against Saddam Hussein. Ties between the United States and Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt have been strengthened. In an attempt to address the larger Arab-Israeli conflict, the Bush administration has co-sponsored with the former Soviet Union Middle East peace negotiations between Israel, her neighbor Arabs and Palestinians. Alleged connections between the Libyan government and terrorism have prompted the U.S., United Kingdom and France to lead an effort in the Security Council to impose sanctions against that nation.

Upon resolution of the Persian Gulf War, the U.S. has maintained it's military presence in the region, proposing a base in Bahrain to augment the forces stationed permanently in Saudi Arabia. To secure the stability of the Middle East further, the U.N. has pressed for the denuclearization of Iraq, a lengthy and incomplete process. As well, the U.S. has increased arms sales to Saudi Arabia. Canada, a member of the Desert Storm coalition, does not maintain a permanent military presence in the area, although troops have remained to aid in refugee relief. The participation of such Arab states as Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia in the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq fuelled hopes for a lasting Middle East peace which have yet to be fulfilled. As part of this long-term process of regional rapprochement, the Gulf Cooperation Council (Egypt, Syria and the six Gulf nations) looks to promote improved relations with the western world, especially the United States. The decline of Soviet influence in the region which was precipitated by overwhelming domestic political and economic problems, has motivated much of this shift to the West. In addition, France has joined with the U.S. in addressing the problems which face the Middle East peace efforts, signalling at least a temporary abatement of the subtle competition between these states for influence in the Middle East. As a result, the United States finds itself in a singular position to broker face-to-face negotiations among the opposing regional powers.

Canada, the United States, and the world recognize that any lasting peace in the Middle East must first address Israeli-Palestinian land disputes and the larger conflict between Arabs and Israelis. To the disappointment of the world community, negotiations between Israel, Palestinian representatives and concerned Arab nations have not produced agreement on many significant issues. Despite the realization that the parties are unlikely to reach a complete settlement at any time in the near future, the U.S. and Canada hope for limited progress during future talks. The U.S. remains firmly committed to the security of Israel, but also recognizes that the long-term regional security depends on a negotiated settlement between all parties. Along with recognition of Israel's legitimate international status, Canada has taken a more sympathetic view of the Palestinians' claims for recognition and an independent homeland. The United States and Canada pursue different policies towards Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza; Canada's concerns about Israeli human rights abuses have been more vocally and consistently articulated than those concerns of the United States.

Both countries' policies are complicated by the presence of vocal minorities lobbying on each side of the issue. Recently the historically strong alliance between the U.S. and Israel has become strained over the issue of $10 billion in loan guarantees. Conflict arose over American concerns that the money from the loans would be used to construct new housing in the occupied territories, a move that President Bush recognizes as an obstacle to peace. In February 1992, Bush denied the loan guarantees.

Another regional issue, terrorism, has prompted international condemnation of nations identified with terrorist practices. In the Spring of 1992, the U.S., United Kingdom and France led the effort in the Security Council to impose sanctions on Libya in response to it's refusal to extradite the terrorists responsible for the Lockerbie bombing of Pan Am flight 103. The U.S. has clashed with Libya over this issue before, most visibly in the 1986 air strike on Tripoli. In the face of a warming relationship with Middle Eastern nations, notably Syria, the United States remains very concerned about the problem. 1992 saw the return of the last British and American hostages held by terrorists, a significant victory in the long war against terrorism.

North America and Europe

Change has swept across Europe so rapidly that much of the conventional analysis on the region has been rendered virtually obsolete. With the disintegration of the USSR and the full incorporation of most of the newly independent republics into the United Nations, North American nations must alter their policies significantly from five or even two years ago. New challenges to

North American policy makers include not only the fragmentation of the Soviet Union, but the civil war in Yugoslavia, the reunification of Germany, the opening of eastern Europe to the West and the strengthening of the European Economic Community (EC).

The most visible change in Europe is the easing of Cold War tension which started with *glastnost* and *perestroika* and culminated in the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The U.S., while committed to fostering democracy, stability, and free-market reforms in the former Soviet republics, faces a recession which has prevented it from providing much long-term assistance in redeveloping infrastructure. The U.S. and the EC have jointly provided some $600 million in emergency food aid and food credits between September 1991 and March 1992; Canada continues an extensive grain trade with the former Soviet republics. Both North American nations have recognized the formal dissolution of the USSR, the independence of the former Soviet republics and the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Neither Canada nor the U.S. ever acknowledged the Soviet annexation of the Baltic republics, and these states have been reincorporated into the international community. Aside from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, the former republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan joined the United Nations in their own right after the conclusion of the 46th General Assembly session. The Russian Federation assumed the Soviet Union's seat in the General Assembly and the Security Council, and the former Byelorussian S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R. retained their seats and changed their names simply to Belarus and Ukraine respectively.

For the purposes of maintaining legal continuity, Russia has been recognized as the successor state of the Soviet Union, although questions remain about the control of Soviet nuclear capabilities. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has visited the republics on several occasions supporting the new confederation and signifying an active diplomatic and economic role. Clearly Cold War tensions have eased and the U.S. and USSR have found common ground in pursuit of peace in the Middle East; the former enemies co-sponsored Middle East Peace Conference talks between Israel and Arab delegations. Despite this new-found cooperation, the internal situation in the former Soviet Union continues to evolve and the U.S. and Canada share concerns over weapons proliferation and profiteering. Both support the retention of centralized control over the former USSR's fragmenting nuclear weapons arsenal, a goal which seems elusive in the face of Russia's action in May of 1992 to take control of part of the CIS nuclear capability.

The civil war in Yugoslavia presents Ottawa and Washington with an even more acute, volatile problem. Independence declarations from Croatia and

Slovenia initially prompted a ferocious civil war between the Serb-dominated Federal Army and Croatian paramilitary separatists. A tenuous ceasefire has been achieved in Croatia, and nearly 14,000 U.N. peacekeeping forces deployed to the region try to keep the peace, provide humanitarian assistance and facilitate the evacuation of civilian women and children from war-devastated areas.

Both North American nations support the United Nations effort, led by U.N. special envoy Cyrus Vance. Bosnia and Herzegovinia's subsequent declarations of independence intensified the fighting in this chaotic region. Since that time, Serbian forces have encroached on Bosnian territory, ostensibly to protect the minority Serbian population there. The international community, particularly the United States and the EC, view this action as an unconscionable violation of the rights of the peoples in the region to self-determination. The United States' protest took the form of withdrawal of diplomatic representation from Belgrade in May of 1992, an action which was emulated by nations of the European Community. The U.N. Security Council determined in mid-May 1992 not to deploy forces to Bosnia or Herzegovinia because of the instability and violence in the region. As well, the evolving situation may result in withdrawal of the peacekeeping forces already in Croatia as a result of fears for their safety and doubts about the practicability of their mission. Their objective of demilitarizing the militia forces in the region was complicated by a Serbian decision to remove a smaller proportion of the pro-Serbian forces in U.N.-protected regions, enlarging and endangering the U.N. force's mission. Certainly, Canada and the U.S. retain an active interest in the peace process in this region. Canada pressed for an arms embargo against Yugoslavia during September 1991 U.N. sessions, while the U.S. has already contributed over $7 million in relief aid to Yugoslavian refugees and has of course taken part in the Security Council deliberations on the deteriorating situation.

Canada and the U.S., like other Western democracies, welcomed the reunification of Germany. Both nations encouraged the unification process, and the U.S. participated in the "two-plus-four" negotiations in their capacity as one of the four World War II Allies who shared control of Germany in the immediate post-war era. Canada and the U.S. recognize the important role that Germany plays in Europe and yet are concerned about possible German economic and political ascendence in the region. Recent plans for consolidation of French and German forces into an independent European Defense Corps have sparked North American fears about the decline of NATO. Such a force is seen as potentially incompatible with NATO arrangements. Both nations desire to maintain the NATO alliance and to cultivate and preserve other links between Europe and North America.

The emergence of democratic regimes in many eastern European nations gratifies both Canada and the U.S., who for decades have sought to erode communist domination of the area. However, the economic devastation the region faces is vast and has generated considerable assistance from the West. Canada has supplied Poland with over $12 million in food aid plus and additional $30 million in currency support. President Bush's budget request for Fiscal Year 1991 included $300 million for eastern Europe. Most of this money is designated for Hungary and Poland, the latter also having been forgiven $10 billion of its $40 billion debt. The West has provided additional financial resources to the region, securing loans and investment as well as government appropriations. Aside from much needed economic intervention in the region, Canada and the U.S. have encouraged these nations to transform themselves through decisions freely made by the people themselves and their democratically elected governments.

In Western Europe, North America's interests and policies focus especially on economic issues. The European Community (EC) trade bloc has spurred Canada and the U.S. to view an open trading environment with Europe as a necessary condition for sustained economic growth. This is particularly important for the Canadian economy as 30% of its GNP and three million jobs are dependent on trade. The Single European Market enters into force in 1992 and Germany demonstrates great potential for global prominence. These factors in European relations led the U.S. and Canada to parallel declarations on EC relations in November 1990, though the primary forum for addressing economic disputes remains the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The breakdown of the Uruguay round of GATT talks due to alleged unfair EC trade practices frustrated efforts toward trade liberalization. Meanwhile, the U.S. and Canada remain locked in disagreement over the EC Common Agricultural Policy, which mandates trade and farm subsidies. Continued stalemate could prompt protectionist trade policies, retarding world economic growth, jeopardizing the economic health of developing nations and the new democracies in Europe, and delaying renewed economic vitality in the industrial nations.

North America and Latin America

Canada and the U.S. realize that many of their domestic and international concerns have a direct relation to Latin America, and have therefore made renewed efforts to integrate Latin American concerns into foreign policy objectives. The watershed for Canadian policy in the region came in the 1980s, when Central American turmoil and the 1986 oil crisis delivered inter-American issues to Canada's doorstep in the form of refugees and Latin American debt. Canada's subsequent initiative to join OAS as a full member was welcomed by Latin American governments who have long been interested in cultivating relations with their northernmost neighbor. Despite polarization between the U.S. and Latin America over the former's perceived paternalism and intervention in the region, there are indications of a new U.S. approach under the Bush administration. Criticism of past American unilateral actions have given rise to cooperation on security and development issues. As market reforms continue, political stability increases and governments favorable to the U.S. come to power, the links between U.S. interests and those of its Latin American neighbors become apparent and this area of U.S. foreign policy gains much more consideration. The increasing interdependence of Canada and the U.S., coupled with the similar ideological perspectives of Bush and Mulroney, have contributed to an erosion of distinctions between Canadian and U.S. policy towards the hemisphere.

Canada and the U.S. share concern about the ever increasing Latin American debt. Since the world economic slowdown of the 1970s and 1980s, Latin American countries have been unable to service their foreign debt adequately. Canadian and American concern stems from the staggering amounts of money owed to financial institutions in both nations. Canada has led Economic Summit Countries in canceling foreign debt and has provided over $600 million in short term bridge loans to Argentina, Mexico and Brazil in preparation for new agreements with the IMF. The U.S. has also addressed the Latin American debt problem; the Brady Plan, initiated in March 1989 by Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, allows the reduction of commercial bank debt in return for IMF-approved economic structural reform. Only fully implemented in Mexico, the plan has been introduced in Bolivia, Venezuela, Chile, Costa Rica and Uruguay as well. The United States has also provided aid to the region through such programs as the Partnership for Development and Democracy and the Caribbean Basin Initiative. International assistance and Latin American governments' policies seem to be working as the burden of foreign debt is eased, net capital inflow increases, consumer price increases slow down and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rises. However, the potential for economic setbacks is great, and other indicators of prosperity tell a less encouraging story. The region faces problems with income distribution which results in pockets of extreme poverty and dismal living standards.

One of the most effective U.S. policies is the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, announced in June of 1990, to promote economic growth in Latin America and the Caribbean. This program rests on three pillars: expanding trade, encouraging investment and easing debt burdens. The trade initiative involves a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Mexico to eliminate restrictions on the flow of goods, services and investment between the two countries. With bilateral commerce at $52 billion in 1989, and a potential Mexican market of 81 million people, an FTA would enhance U.S. competitiveness in international markets. The existence of the Canada-U.S. FTA has given rise to trilateral free trade talks between Mexico, the U.S. and Canada that have the objective of creating a free trade bloc between the three nations. Such progress towards consolidating economic links has been facilitated by the election of U.S.-educated Carlos Salinas as the President of Mexico, who has made trade with North America a top foreign policy priority as part of his general restructuring of the Mexican economy. His efforts to liberalize the economy have met with measurable success, although in Mexico, like in much of the rest of Latin America, empirical evidence of economic health, such as reduced inflation rates, has not resulted in corresponding increases in standards of living.

Both Canada and the United States stand to gain economically in the event that Latin America emerges from its debt-induced depression as an economically vital region with expansive markets for goods from the North. The breakdown of the Uruguay Round of GATT talks and fears of a "fortress Europe" related to the emergence of the Single European Market in 1992 have intensified pressure to resolve these hemispheric economic problems as a means of competing with future European ascendance. The economic ties between the nations of the Western Hemisphere are already strong and provide a well-developed basis for future regional competitiveness. The United States is the largest single trading partner with Latin American countries. Brazil sells three times as much to the U.S. and buys twice as much in the U.S. as it does in its next biggest market. Mexico still depends on the U.S. for about 70% of both its imports and exports. Latin America is also Canada's fourth most important export market and the second largest recipient of Canadian direct investment.

An important precondition for U.S. and Canadian progress in Latin American debt and trade concerns is political stability in the region. The situation has improved with free elections in Chile, Colombia and Guatemala in 1990, along with the electoral defeat of the Sandanistas in Nicaragua and the U.S. ousting of Manuel Noriega from Panama. However, the people of Latin America have come to realize that democratic forms of government are not a panacea for the economic ruin brought about a history of authoritarian regimes. Military governments in Latin America, with the exception of Pinochet's regime in Chile, have tended to be inefficient managers of their country's resources. The current economic problems which plague the region are complicated by public expectations for dramatic and prompt reform and prosperity. The February 1992 coup attempt in Venezuela dramatized widespread popular resentment stemming from the imbalance between price increases and

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wage increases which results in decreased purchasing power. This resentment was directed at the government of President Carlos Andres Perez, widely perceived in Venezuela as corrupt and unresponsive to the needs of the population. In April 1992 a crisis in Peru precipitated by the subversive Shining Path drug trade led president Fujimori to suspend the constitution. Since then Haitian President Aristide has been forced into exile, and the intransigence of the military coup leaders continues despite OAS diplomatic efforts.

Canada and the U.S. supported a consensus resolution in 1991 to condemn this usurpation of the people's electoral will. These events have strained U.S. and Canadian relations with nations in the Latin American region as they indicate the enduring need for political stability to be achieved. The U.S. and Canada have pledged assistance and funds to several countries in the region in support of democratic and economic reforms. This aid has become particularly important as democracies in the region have proven to be relatively fragile and continue to be beset by periodic violence. Consistent with their respective policies, Canada's troops are part of the U.N.'s Central American forces in El Salvador (ONUSAL) while the U.S. maintains a limited presence in the region as the result of bilateral agreements with Latin American countries. As well, Canada has mediated and assisted in regional development as part of a wider U.N. effort.

As democracies emerge in Latin America, Communist Cuba finds itself increasingly isolated. The U.S. keeps its distance through an economic embargo and suspension of formal diplomatic relations with Cuba. The end of the Cold War was accompanied by the fading of Soviet influence in the region, but the antagonism between Cuba and the United States remains. Canada feels current problems in the region would be more manageable if Cuba were involved in new, constructive relations with its hemispheric neighbors. Towards this end, Canada has maintained diplomatic links with Cuba and argued for its inclusion in the OAS.

Due to its shared border with Latin America, the U.S. faces the immediate concern of narcotics flow into its national territory. 80% of cocaine and 90% of marijuana imported into the U.S. comes from Latin America, and the U.S. has spent over $200 million in recent years on drug interdiction in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, even in the face of local opposition. President Bush has sought inter-American cooperation with this issue, arranging multi-nation summits and private meetings to gain the perspective of nations most involved in the drug trade. Terrorist methods employed by drug cartels have hampered anti-narcotics success and destabilized governmental authority in the region. Furthermore, in spite of international efforts to promote alternative agricultural developments, farmers in the region continue to grow coca and drug eradication efforts remain largely unsuccessful. Canada supported the OAS National Drug Control Strategy in September 1989, and has proven commitment to dealing with the narcotics trade. Since 1989, the Canadian government has donated $2 million in equipment to the Colombian Drug Enforcement Agency.

North America and Asia-Pacific

As the Pacific Rim nations have experienced unprecedented growth, the American and Canadian policies toward the region focus increasingly on economic issues. In the 1980s Japan surpassed the U.S. in trade and per capita income, and Asia's "four tigers"—South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan—consistently rank among the world's fastest growing economies. This rising Asian prominence in the international economy comes as a mixed blessing to the United States and Canada. While intensifying competition, Asian economic growth promises increasing stability and new markets in regions recently torn by war and poverty. With this growth in the Pacific Rim, as well, comes increased interdependence between this region and North America.

The North American nations face increasing internal pressure to resort to protectionist measures to counter trade deficits with Pacific Rim nations. This has been particularly true in the case of Japan, whose policy of protecting its markets from U.S. imports while encouraging its own export industries has contributed to the large American trade deficit. The consumer-oriented culture of the United States, combined with extremely low rates of savings have also fuelled the imbalance. Allegations of Japanese market "dumping" couple with a relative decline in U.S. productivity to aggravate this situation further. Though a successful settlement still eludes the two nations, U.S. trade policy towards Japan is concerned with market access reform through GATT. The Bush administration has launched a Structural Impediments Initiative dialogue to persuade Japan to alter its saving and investment imbalance and exclusionary business practices, while pledging in turn to focus on its own budget deficit and low savings rate. Both are particularly concerned with sectoral trade difficulties, especially in the construction, satellite, and supercomputer industries. Canada, as part of a Going Global strategy, is considering a multilateral trade agreement with Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia to build on already established technological transfer agreements. Both Canada and the U.S. join in APEC (Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation), along with South Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the six ASEAN nations in efforts to coordinate approaches to regional and world trade issues.

Canada and the U.S. have continued trade relations with China, despite the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, although both condemned the Chinese government's use of force and introduced selective sanctions. U.S. trade with China, which totalled $18 billion in 1989, continued as the U.S. extended China's Most Favored Nation status for another year in 1992. President Bush views engagement rather than isolation as a catalyst for change.

The decline of Cold War politics and the simultaneous emergence of new regional power blocs has significantly altered U.S. policy in the Asia-Pacific region. Determined to cut troops in Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines by 5 percent, the U.S. seeks an increasing U.N. role in the mediation of disputes between North and South Korea. As antagonism between East and West has abated, North Korea remains isolated from the West in many ways. The North Korean government seeks further ties with the United States in the hope of attracting American development assistance and investment money. So far these efforts have met with limited success. Concerns about allegations of North Korean nuclear weapons capabilities persist, and the U.S. has pressed for U.N.-led verification.

A principal instrument for U.S. involvement in Asia is the Asian Development Bank (ADB), in which it shares the role of the largest stockholder with Japan. The ADB has been the subject of recent controversy which stems from fundamental disagreement between the U.S. and other members (primarily borrowers) about the proper direction for the bank's lending policies. In May 1992, the U.S. pressed for the formulation of a clear course of action to stimulate private development. As well, American goals include linkage between loans from ADB and policy reform as well as reevaluation of eligibility for ADB funds. The "four dragons" have experienced such sustained growth that they can no longer receive loans from the Bank, and rising stars Taiwan and Malaysia are not far behind them in development. As a result, fewer states are receiving more money. Four states account for 79% of ADB funds: Indonesia (34%), India (17%), the Philippines (14%) and Pakistan (14%). The shrinking clientele of the ADB could increase in the future to include the former Soviet republics in Central Asia, Mongolia and Vietnam. However, the U.S. has consistently opposed extending financing to Vietnam, a prejudice which symbolizes America's lack of understanding of Asian issues to many in the region.

Further south, the United States faces pressure from Australia to maintain regional security forces and to build up the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC). APEC must compete with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which includes Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, Thailand and the Philippines, for influence in the region. This competition is intensified in the face of ASEAN contemplation of a free trade zone in South East Asia to match the consolidations in Europe and North America. Towards this end, ASEAN nations are investing heavily in telecommunications links both within the Association and with Europe, Japan and North America.

These link-ups are to be operational by early 1993.

The U.S. and Canada both play extensive roles in the U.N. transition government in Cambodia (UNTAC), the most ambitious U.N. peacekeeping mission to date. Up to 22,000 U.N. peacekeeping forces will serve as temporary administrators and election monitors until free elections commence in 1993. Aside from encouraging institutional reform, the UN forces have had to contend with consistent ceasefire violations. In May 1992 the ADB considered financial assistance to Cambodia (for the first time in 21 years) to address the desperate situation there. The world community must also accommodate the constant flow of refugees from this war-torn region and attempt to resettle more than 300,000 refugees into Cambodian society.

To avoid the emergence of new regional rivalries or the escalation of traditional disputes, the U.S., Canada, and regional powers maintain the importance of a sustained North American military presence in the Pacific Rim. As part of this effort, the United States negotiated the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), a regional collective security regime which has been defunct since the 1970s. Canada, with no naval bases in the region, relies more extensively on its North Pacific Cooperative Security Dialogue. The U.S. will also continue to subsidize Japanese defense in the region, although the constitutionally-imposed discrepancy between Japan's own investment in its defense and its economic strength remains a frustration to the U.S.. American policy suffers from contradictory motivations, seeking both to forestall Japanese military expansion and to limit the cost to their own economic well-being. This contradiction echoes the larger paradox of North American relations with Pacific Rim nations; economic development there is seen both as a threat and as an opportunity.

North America and Sub-Saharan Africa

The most tumultuous changes in Sub-Saharan Africa have occurred in South Africa. In March of 1992, white South Africans overwhelmingly approved a referendum supporting President F.W. DeKlerk's plan for dismantling apartheid. In response to these and previous reforms, the U.S., Canada, and the rest of the international community lifted some trade sanctions against South Africa. Both the U.S. and Canada are carefully observing the reform process and supporting dialogue between black and white South African factions in an effort to make the transition from apartheid to equality a peaceful one. Though Canada and the U.S. recognize that progress has been made, both nations agree that full normalization of relations with South Africa cannot occur until all South Africans enjoy the rights of full citizenship.

North American policy towards the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa is less consistent. The U.S. joins Canada in fostering stable, democratic governments, especially in southern African nations. In March 1990, U.S.-mediated accords led to the independence of Namibia, a country long held hostage to South Africa's system of apartheid. Canada invested over $22 million to help Namibia secure its independence and joined with the U.S. in applauding South Africa's ability to withdraw with dignity. However, the U.S. has also steadfastly supported dictators, primarily those who contend with Marxist insurgencies or fulfill other larger policy goals of the U.S. For example, the regime of Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire received $138 million in aid from the United States in 1990. Canada disapproves of this aid, and was among the members of La Francophonie whose objections to the Seko regime led to the movement of a conference scheduled for November 1991 from Zaire to Paris. In recent months, aid from the West has become increasingly contingent on African nations' human rights records. The precedent for this sort of linkage was set in 1991; the World Bank suspended aid to President Daniel arap Moi's regime in Kenya in an attempt to encourage democratic reform and protection of fundamental freedoms. In May 1992 similar human rights concerns prompted a freeze on development assistance to Malawi for 1992 and 1993.

Continued drought, famine, and political strife in the Horn of Africa have also received substantial attention from the U.S. and Canada. The U.S. 1991 budget allocation to migration and refugee assistance in Africa was $47 million greater than its 1990 level. Besides providing humanitarian assistance, North America joins the U.N. efforts to reach political solutions to the problem of Eritrean secession from Ethiopia and the civil war in Somalia. Canada has linguistic and cultural ties to the former French and Belgian colonies in Africa and often plays a leading role among French speaking nations in the region. The dynamics of Canada's bilingual society can create domestic conflicts in foreign policy goals which are played out on the African continent. In the U.N., the U.S. and Canada support negotiations over the political fate of the Western Sahara, and the United States endorsed Security Council action to establish the U.N. Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).

North America and global issues

As a result of the global reach of U.S. and Canadian foreign policies, these two nations have become increasingly concerned with issues that cut across regional boundaries to become truly international problems. World problems with such universal scope and such a compelling need to be addressed such as the environment, the drug trade, disarmament, and refugee relief increase interdependence between diverse regional and ideological blocs. Because these issues focus on concerns related to individuals and their quality of life they cannot be ignored by the nations of the world.

Global environmental issues in particular continue to gain prominence on the agenda of these two nations. The United States has committed itself to the worldwide phaseout of all chlorofluorocarbons by the year 2000, has amended its own Clean Air Act, elevated the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet status and designated a significant proportion of its Fiscal Year 1991 budget for combatting global warming, ozone depletion and other global environmental problems. In Less Developed Countries, the Bush administration supports links between development and the environment through debt-for-nature swaps. Such a link was part of the Multilateral Assistance Initiative in the Philippines. After months of delay, President Bush announced in May of 1992 his plans to attend the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development planned for June 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil though the U.S. has not participated in much of the regional preparatory work for the conference. By way of contrast, Canada's Environmental Protection Act ranks among the toughest in the world, including provisions to protect the air, waterways, and lands from excessive pollution. Ottawa has recently introduced a $3 billion "Green Plan" for the environment and has pushed for more action from the U.S. on transboundary air pollution, which disproportionately affects Canada. The U.S.-Canadian FTA provides innovative mechanisms to handle cases of illegal dumping and other pollution. The U.S. and Canada have also joined with the other circumpolar nations to develop an Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy. Pressure from environmentalists around the world prompted a global ban on the trade of ivory in 1991. The U.N. renewed the ban this year, attesting to an increased environmental awareness, and both the United States and Canada joined in this action. In 1991 as well, the General Assembly endorsed a consensus resolution calling for an international moratorium on driftnet fishing on the high seas to take effect by December 31, 1992.

Recognizing that the monetary value of worldwide drug trafficking is now second only to the arms trade, the U.S. and Canada have made the control of narcotics a foreign policy priority. While the U.S. has incorporated an international component into its National Drug Control Strategy, Canada has devised legislation governing the sale and promotion of drugs. As noted above, both North American nations have attempted to address the supply side of the drug problem, committing themselves to strengthening multilateral efforts against drug trafficking within the fora of the ESC and the U.N.

The continuation and multiplication of regional conflicts, specifically in the Middle East and Yugoslavia, has heightened concerns with disarmament and verification measures. Both Canada and the U.S. support a worldwide ban on chemical weapons and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in addition to an "open skies" approach to mutual verification and surveillance of disarmament. The two nations' policies diverge, however on the issue of the need for a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Canada endorsed a 1991 General Assembly Resolution urging the negotiation of such a treaty which the U.S. has steadfastly opposed. On other disarmament issues the two nations concur in their insistence on Iraqi compliance with U.N. inspections of alleged weapons production facilities.

Regional conflicts have also increased the number of asylum seekers in North America and U.S. and Canadian concern for refugees abroad. Both nations face domestic difficulties with striking a balance between effective assimilation of immigrant groups and minorities and the equally pressing need to retain cultural identification. Outside their borders, U.S. and Canadian personnel operate and support Kurdish refugee camps in Turkey and Iran, and both nations provide financial assistance to other areas to help with refugee relief. For example, the U.S. contributes the most money of any nation to the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which serves over 2 million Palestinian refugees.

North America and the United Nations

The United States and Canada both sent large delegations to the 1945 San Francisco Conference and, since assisting in the U.N.'s foundation, have worked towards its goals of a cooperative international community. While conflict between the superpowers has in many ways paralyzed the U.N. since its creation in 1945, the recent rapprochement has transformed their attitudes to each other and to the organization itself. November 1989 saw the first General Assembly resolution sponsored jointly by the Soviet Union and the U.S.; the resolution reaffirms the basic principles of the U.N. Charter and looks towards a new spirit of constructive cooperation. The two former antagonists have united to achieve common foreign policy goals in the Middle East and elsewhere. This realignment, combined with a series of U.N. successes in the past few years (Nicaragua, Iran-Iraq, Namibia, Iraq-Kuwait), has fuelled renewed faith in the U.N.'s role as international peacekeeper. The Bush administration, especially, has favored the U.N. as an effective arena in which to address international problems. Careful utilization of General Assembly and Security Council mechanisms to build an international coalition against Iraq symbolizes renewed support for the organization. As an additional demonstration of its confidence in the U.N., the U.S., after withholding almost half of its financial obligation in 1985–6, pledged its full financial contribution for the Fiscal Year 1991 and has promised payment of its arrears over the next five years. Canada's support for the U.N. has been more constant, although it too was a participant in the Cold War struggle.

The U.S. and Canada work through the U.N. in different ways. In keeping with its powerful status, the U.S. plays a main role as a permanent member of the Security Council, concentrating on issues of peace and security. The Security Council historically has been favored over the General Assembly as a policy tool because of its unique competence to address political and security issues and because the U.S. was often defeated by the combined power of the Non-Aligned and Communist blocs in the General Assembly. As the Communist monolith crumbled, the Non-Aligned bloc stood to gain members formerly under the influence of the USSR. However, such an anti-western trend has not emerged, and the U.S. State Department characterizes the American relationship in 1991 with all developing regions, including eastern Europe as constructive. Canada, apart from its temporary two year membership of the Security Council (1988–90), has been confined to the General Assembly. Decisions taken by the General Assembly are less regionally specific, focus more on economic, social and cultural issues and in some, limited cases do not have the legal clout of Security Council actions, but they are important in setting international norms.

The Security Council

1991 was a record-setting year for the Security Council; 42 resolutions were adopted, more than during any previous calendar year, and all five Permanent Members refrained from exercising their veto power all year for the first time since 1978. Since the end of the Cold War, a more capable Security Council has emerged, with the U.S., as one of the five permanent members, providing leadership. U.S. condemnation of Iraq during the Gulf crisis found near-unanimous support within the Security Council, eliciting twelve resolutions to condemn the invasion of Kuwait and to call for Iraq's unconditional withdrawal. Canada, a temporary member of the Security Council during Desert Storm, was involved in the drafting of these resolutions and supported all of them. Twelve additional resolutions in 1991 addressed the post-war situation in Iraq, especially ceasefire terms, refugee treatment and Iraqi chemical, biological and nuclear weapons production capabilities. The majority of these resolutions were adopted unanimously. U.N. inspection teams have been deployed to Iraq in response to U.S. and international concerns about Iraqi weapons capabilities. The U.S. has consistently threatened renewed military action in response to Iraqi evasiveness and obstruction of the team's mission, but the process is moving slowly despite U.S. threats. In addition, the deployment of U.N. peacekeeping and observer missions continues to occupy the Security Council, which has endorsed missions in such diverse and troubled regions as Iraq-Kuwait, Western Sahara, El Salvador, Cambodia and Yugoslavia. The disintegration of the Soviet Union led to applications for admission from many of the former republics, and the post-Cold War environment facilitated the admission of North and South Korea to membership in 1991.

The world community realizes that the Gulf problem cannot be settled by the U.N. in isolation from larger regional issues, and therefore the Arab-Israeli conflict has become a renewed priority for the U.S. Intent on seeing an end to the violence in the Occupied Territories, the U.S. has the objective of security for Israel and all states in the region along with the fulfillment of the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people. Although the U.S. has a history of voting with Israel in Middle East issues, it voted for three Security Council resolutions condemning the October killing of Palestinians at Temple Mount. This coupled with conflict over loan guarantees has strained the U.S.-Israeli relationship, making the U.S. seem to be a less partisan influence in the region. The U.S. hopes to moderate name-calling and finger-pointing over the Palestinian issue in the U.N., but, unlike Canada, seeks resolution and a wider Middle East security arrangement outside the framework of the U.N.

The U.S. continues to support Security Council peacekeeping efforts to bring other regional conflicts to an end. After intensive consultations during 1990, the U.S. and the other permanent Security Council members have established a settlement framework that will verify Vietnamese withdrawal, prevent the return to power of the Khmer Rouge and provide genuine self-determination for the people of Cambodia. This settlement framework has been endorsed by the U.N. in its Security Council resolution 668 and has been informally accepted by the Cambodian parties. The U.S. believes that a role for the United Nations is a key element in the settlement process. Canada has applauded the unanimity of the Security Council and donated $1.5 million to the U.N. effort. The 1991 Security Council session authorized the deployment of UNTAC, the largest U.N. peacekeeping force yet. In Namibia, the U.S. and Canada supported a move to self determination and independence, in keeping with Security Council resolution 435. While the U.S. mediated the accords that led to Namibian independence, Canadian forces served in the U.N. Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG). No country in the world has participated in more international peacekeeping efforts than Canada. This nation takes part in U.N. peacekeeping forces in El Salvador (ONUSAL) and joined the consensus to support the peace initiatives of the Central American presidents

(45/10). Canada has also contributed to U.N. electoral assistance in Haiti, Nicaragua and Namibia, and provides logistical support for ceasefire observers at the conclusion of the Iran-Iraq war. The U.S. has supported and participated in U.N. peacekeeping missions as well. Despite U.N. and other international efforts including the Geneva Accords of 1988 and the total withdrawal of foreign troops in 1989, a comprehensive solution to the conflict in Afghanistan has still not been achieved. Although the Najibullah regime has relinquished control, the Mujaheddin factions are now fighting each other for control of the nation.

The General Assembly

Party to the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles, Canada is committed to promoting peace and stability within the U.N. Canada seeks to encourage disarmament initiatives at the multilateral level, urging all U.N. members to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)and, along with the U.S., calling for a worldwide ban on chemical weapons. As noted above, Canada favors the "urgent need" for a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, while the U.S. maintains the need to test the reliability of nuclear deterrents. Canada's concern for confidence building measures also led it to co-sponsor a resolution calling for an Expert's Study on Verification, conducted by the Secretary General.

Canada's support for human rights is demonstrated by its condemnation of Iraqi authorities and occupation forces for violations against the Kuwaitis and third state nationals and of Israel's human rights violations of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. The latter has been a source of disagreement between Canada and the U.S. in the General Assembly, with the U.S. and Israel voting against such resolutions. The question of human rights in Cuba, however, is a topic on which the United States has taken the initiative and introduced opposition to the Cuban authorities' flagrant violations of international norms and standards. In the face of positive steps towards the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, the nations of North America have loosened sanctions and encouraged expeditious egalitarian reform.

Both Canada and the U.S. have agreed that it will take a multilateral effort by the nations of the world to protect the global environment and to end the supply of and demand for narcotic drugs. Through General Assembly resolutions 45/211 and 45/212, the U.S. and Canada have given their support to the 1992 U.N. Conference on Environment and Development, although the American contribution to the conference remains in doubt. As well both nations advocate the establishment of an intergovernmental negotiating process working towards the protection of the global climate.

The consensus at the 45th General Assembly to support the U.N. Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances was joined by Canada and the U.S., and was ratified by both nations in 1990. North America also unanimously supported the U.N.'s Global Programme of Action against Narcotics. The years 1991–2000 have been announced as the U.N. Decade Against Drug Abuse.

In anticipation of a revived U.N. with a strong role in world affairs, the U.S. is increasingly addressing the organization's structure. A "unitary U.N." concept, proposed by the U.S., looks to rationalize the U.N. system, eliminating duplication and the proliferation of U.N. bodies. These efforts met with success in 1991 as the General Assembly's ability to streamline the process and consolidate the issues was demonstrated by the reduced number of resolutions passed. Both Canada and the U.S. promoted U.N. structural reform to centralize the handling of requests for electoral observation assistance. Massive U.N. expenses on political and security measures coupled with worldwide economic slowdowns and crises, heightened American and Canadian awareness of the need for cutbacks. Under the leadership of new Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali of Egypt, the U.N. faces such institutional challenges as well as international ones.

Both Canada and the United States commit themselves to vital roles in the organization, and, although they differ in their response to some issues and their choice of method, they often find a great deal of common ground. The two nations operate in somewhat different diplomatic styles. This distinction can be accounted for by their separate roles in the world. The United States relies less on multilateral arrangements for consultation and coalition-building, not because of any inherent distrust or dislike for these arrangements, but because the United States does not need these institutions in order to conduct its diplomacy. U.S. embassies located all over the world make face-to-face, daily contact with decision-makers a real possibility. Because of the fast-paced nature of diplomacy at the end of the twentieth century, institutional mechanisms for communication are less necessary for the United States. Canada's diplomatic corps is much smaller than the United States', a discrepancy which is consistent with each nation's role in the international community. As a result, affiliations such as the British Commonwealth and La Francophonie play a more significant role in the shaping and conduct of Canada's foreign policy. Increasingly, the United States has become more involved with these regional or economic alliances as the shifting global balance becomes more uncertain, more regionally focused, and much more economically integrated. In this evolving world context, the relationship between Canada and the United States remains vital.

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CHAPTER 4

Selected Resolutions of the 46th Session of the U.N. General Assembly

Between 17 September and 20 December 1991, the U.N. General Assembly adopted 221 resolutions and 80 decisions. Reproduced here are abridged versions of several of these resolutions. They cover the spectrum of the U.N.'s agenda. You should note that many of the resolutions we have selected were adopted without a vote. In such cases, there was consensus among the members of the General Assembly on these matters.

The vast majority (over 80%) of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the fall of 1991 were adopted without a vote. This is clearly indicates that the diplomats at the U.N. prefer to do business through "behind the scenes" negotiation and private discussions when drafting the resolutions and to avoid having to force an issue to a vote. Yet, you will also see some of the resolutions where votes are still counted. A Voting Chart follows the resolutions to demonstrate the voting pattern in the General Assembly on these issues. The U.N. Department of Public Information includes the unabridged versions of all the resolutions adopted by the 46th General Assembly in its Model U.N. Kit which is available for a nominal charge through the Public Inquiries Unit, Room GA-057A, United Nations, New York 10017.

RESOLUTION 46/10

Return or restitution of cultural property to the countries of origin

Date: 22 October 1991 Vote: 143–0–23

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 3026 A (XXVII) of 18 December 1972, 3148 (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, 3187 (XXVIII) of 18 December 1973, 3391 (XXX) of 19 November 1975, 31/40 of 30 November 1976, 32/18 of 211 November 1977, 33/50 of 14 December 1978, 34/64 of 29 November 1979, 35/127 and 35/128 of 11 December 1980, 36/64 of 27 November 1981, 38/34 of 25 November 1983, 40/19 of 21 November 1985, 42/7 of 22 October 1987 and 44/18 of 6 November 1989,

Taking note with satisfaction of the report of the Secretary-General submitted in cooperation with the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,

Noting with satisfaction that, following its appeal, other Member States have become parties to the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property,

Aware of the importance attached by the countries of origin to the return of cultural property which is of fundamental spiritual and cultural value to them, so that they may constitute collections representative of their cultural heritage,

Reaffirming the importance of inventories as an essential tool for the understanding and protection of cultural property and for the identification of dispersed heritage and as a contribution to the advancement of scientific and artistic knowledge and intercultural communication,

Deeply concerned at the clandestine excavations and the illicit traffic in cultural property that continue to impoverish the cultural heritage of all peoples,...

1. Commends the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to Its Countries of Origin or Its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation on the work they have accomplished, in particular through the promotion of bilateral negotiations, for the return or restitution of cultural property, the preparation of inventories of movable cultural property, the reduction of illicit traffic in cultural property and the dissemination of information to the public;

2. Reaffirms that the restitution to a country of its objets d'art, monuments, museum pieces, archives, manuscripts, documents and any other cultural or artistic treasures contributes to the strengthening of international cooperation and to the preservation and flowering of universal cultural values through fruitful cooperation between developed and developing countries;

3. Recommends that Member States adopt or strengthen the necessary protective legislation with regard to their own heritage and that of other peoples;...

5. Invites Member States to continue drawing up, in cooperation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, systematic inventories of cultural property existing in their territory and of their cultural property abroad;...

7. Also invites Member States engaged in seeking the recovery of cultural and artistic treasures from the sea-bed, in accordance with international law, to facilitate by mutually acceptable conditions the participation of States having a historical and cultural link with those treasures;

8. Appeals to Member States to cooperate

closely with the Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to Its Countries of Origin or Its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation and to conclude bilateral agreements for this purpose;

9. Also appeals to Member States to encourage the mass information media and educational and cultural institutions to strive to arouse a greater and more general awareness with regard to the return or restitution of cultural property to its country of origin;...

11. Welcomes the steady increase in the number of States parties to the Convention;

12. Invites once again those Member States that have not yet done so to sign and ratify the Convention;

13. Requests the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, to submit to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session a report on the implementation of the present resolution;

14. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-eighth session the item entitled "Return or restitution of cultural property to the countries of origin".

RESOLUTION 46/18

The Situation in Cambodia

Date: 20 November 1991 Adopted without a vote

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item entitled "The situation in Cambodia",

Recalling its resolution 45/3 of 15 October and Security Council resolutions 668 (1990) of 20 September 1990, 717 (1991) of 16 October 1991 and 718 (1991) of 31 October 1991,

Recalling also the support and assistance of the international community, the participants of the Paris Conference on Cambodia and all interested States and parties, especially the humanitarian aid rendered to the Cambodian people since 1978,

Welcoming the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict, signed at the Paris Conference on Cambodia on 23 October 1991,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General,

Noting with appreciation the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his staff towards the implementation of the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict,

1. Expresses its full support for the Paris Agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict which, inter alia, would maintain, preserve and guarantee the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and national unity of Cambodia;

2. Supports the efforts of the Secretary-General to set up an effective United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia as soon as possible, with the aim of restoring peace and stability in Cambodia and to implement the Paris Agreements;

3. Welcomes the fact that commitment to self-determination for the Cambodian people through free and fair elections organized and conducted by the United Nations and full respect for human rights have been incorporated in the provisions of the settlement;

4. Calls upon all parties concerned to ensure respect for and full observance of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Cambodian people and to assist them to exercise their right to self-determination in free and fair elections, as provided for in the Paris Agreements;

5. Also calls upon all parties concerned to comply fully with the cease-fire that entered

into force at the time of the signature of the Paris Agreements;

6. Urges all parties concerned to implement fully the terms of the Paris Agreements in close cooperation with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia;

7. Expresses its deep appreciation to the international community, the Co-Presidents of the Paris Conference on Cambodia, the permanent members of the Security Council, regional and other States and the Cambodian parties themselves, in particular His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, for their invaluable contributions over the past decade to restore and maintain peace and unity in Cambodia and to promote national reconciliation;

8. Expresses its deep appreciation also to donor countries, the United Nations agencies and other national and international humanitarian organizations that have rendered assistance to the Cambodian people and urges them to continue their support for the process of repatriation of the Cambodian refugees and displaced persons under the leadership and coordination of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia;

9. Reiterates its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General and his staff for their continuing efforts in helping to implement the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict;

10. Reiterates further its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts in coordinating humanitarian relief assistance and in monitoring its distribution, and requests him to continue such efforts as necessary.

RESOLUTION 46/26

Compliance with arms limitation and disarmament agreements

Date: 6 December 1991 Adopted without a vote

The General Assembly,

Reaffirming its resolution 44/122 of 15 December 1989,

Recognizing the abiding concern of all Member States for maintaining respect for rights and obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law,

Convinced that observance of the Charter of the United Nations, relevant treaties and other sources of international law is essential for the strengthening of international security,

Mindful, in particular, of the fundamental importance of full implementation and strict observance of agreements on arms limitation and disarmament if individual nations and the international community are to derive enhanced security from them,

Stressing that any violation of such agreements not only adversely affects the security of States parties but can also create security risks for other States relying on the constraints and commitments stipulated in those agreements,

Stressing also that any weakening of confidence in such agreements diminishes their contribution to global or regional stability and to further disarmament and arms limitation efforts and undermines the credibility and effectiveness of the international legal system,

Recognizing, in this context, that full compliance by parties with existing agreements and resolving compliance concerns effectively can, inter alia, facilitate the conclusion of additional arms limitation and disarmament agreements,......

Convinced that resolution of non-compliance questions that have arisen with regard to agreements on arms limitations and disarmament would contribute to better relations among States and the strengthening of world peace and security,

Noting recent developments in international relations, and welcoming the universal recognition of the critical importance of the question of compliance with and verification of arms limitation and disarmament agreements,

1. Urges all States parties to arms limitation and disarmament agreements to implement and comply with the entirety of the spirit and provisions of such agreements;

2. Calls upon all Member States to give serious consideration to the implications of non-compliance with those obligations for international security and stability, as well as for the prospects for further progress in the field of disarmament;

3. Also calls upon all Member States to support efforts aimed at the resolution of non-compliance questions, with a view to encouraging strict observance by all parties of the provisions of arms limitation and disarmament agreements and maintaining or restoring the integrity of such agreements;

4. Welcomes the role that the United Nations has played in restoring the integrity of certain arms limitation and disarmament agreements and in the removal of threats to peace;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide assistance that may be necessary in restoring and protecting the integrity of arms limitation and disarmament agreements;

6. Encourages efforts by States parties to develop additional cooperative measures, as appropriate, that can increase confidence in compliance with existing arms limitation and disarmament agreements and reduce the possibility of misinterpretation and misunderstanding;

7. Notes in this connection the contribution that verification experiments and research can make and already have made in confirming and improving verification procedures in arms limitation and disarmament agreements under negotiation.....

8. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-eighth session the item entitled "Compliance with arms limitation and disarmament agreements".

RESOLUTION 46/29

Comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty

Date: 6 December 1991 Vote: 147–2–4

The General Assembly,

Recalling previous resolutions which identify the complete cessation of nuclear-weapon tests and a comprehensive test ban as one of the basic objectives in the field of disarmament,

Convinced that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought,

Welcoming the improved relationship between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America and their consequent announcements of significant measures, including unilateral steps, which could signal the reversal of the nuclear arms race,

Welcoming also the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed on 31 July 1991, and expressing the hope that it will be followed by agreement at an early date on further cuts in strategic nuclear arsenals,

Recognizing the ratification of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests, signed on 3 July 1974, and the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes, signed on 28 May 1976, together with their protocols,

Noting the decline, in comparison with previous years, in the number of nuclear tests conducted in 1990,

Convinced that an end to nuclear testing by all States in all environments for all time is an essential step in order to prevent the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear weapons and their further proliferation and to contribute, along with other concurrent efforts to reduce nuclear arms, to the eventual elimination of nuclear weapons,

Noting concerns expressed about the environmental and health risks associated with underground nuclear testing,

Convinced that the most effective way to achieve an end to nuclear testing is through the conclusion, at an early date, of a verifiable, comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty that will attract the adherence of all States,

Taking into account the undertakings by the original parties to the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water to seek to achieve the early discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time and also noting the reiteration of this commitment in the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Noting with satisfaction the work being undertaken within the Conference on Disarmament by the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Experts to Consider International Cooperative Measures to Detect and Identify Seismic Events....

1. Reaffirms its conviction that a treaty to achieve the prohibition of all nuclear-test explosions by all States in all environments for all time is a matter of priority which would constitute an essential step in order to prevent the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear weapons and their further proliferation, and which would contribute to the process of nuclear disarmament;

2. Urges, therefore, all States to seek to achieve the early discontinuance of all nuclear-test explosions for all time;

3. Reaffirms the particular responsibilities of the Conference on Disarmament in the negotiation of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, and in this context urges the re-establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban in 1992 with an appropriate mandate,

4. Requests the Conference on Disarmament, in this context, to intensify its substantive work on specific and interrelated test-ban issues, including structure and scope and verification and compliance....

6. Urges

(a) The nuclear-weapon States to agree promptly to appropriate verifiable and militarily significant interim measures, with a view to concluding a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty;

(b) Those nuclear-weapon States which have not yet done so to adhere to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water;

7. Calls upon the Conference on Disarmament to report to the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session on progress made;

8. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-seventh session the item entitled "Comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty".

RESOLUTION 46/34 A

Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa

Nuclear capability of South Africa

Date: 6 December 1991 Vote: 108–1–47

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the nuclear capability of South Africa,...

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on South Africa's nuclear-tipped ballistic missile capability,

Having also considered the report of the Group of Experts set up jointly by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, which held its first meeting at Addis Ababa from 6 to 10 May 1991,

Bearing in mind the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its first ordinary session, held at Cairo from 17 to 21 July 1964,...

Taking note of South Africa's accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons on 10 July 1991,

Taking note also of the fact that the South African Government has negotiated and signed a safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency and committed itself to early and full implementation of the agreement in its statement at the September 1991 session of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency,

Stressing that the full disclosure of South Africa's nuclear installations and materials is essential to the peace and security of the region,

Concerned about the transfer of nuclear missile technology to South Africa by a certain State commonly known for its collaboration with South Africa,

1. Calls upon South Africa to comply fully with the implementation of its safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency;

2. Also calls upon South Africa to disclose all its nuclear installations and materials in conformity with its treaty obligations, and to enhance confidence -building, peace and security in the region;

3. Calls upon all States, corporations, institutions and individuals not to engage in collaboration with South Africa that may lead it to violate its commitments under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation ofNuclear Weapons and its safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency;...

5. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session on the measures taken by the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency to verify the completeness of the inventory of South Africa's nuclear installations and materials;

6. Urges all Member States to assist and cooperate with the Secretary-General and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency to this end;

7. Commends the Secretary-General for the diligence with which he rendered effective assistance to the Organization of African Unity in organizing the meeting of the Group of Experts;

8. Also requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session on the implementation of the present resolution.

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RESOLUTION 46/62

Development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States

Date: 9 December 1991 Vote: Adopted without a vote

The General Assembly,

Recalling that, in the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, living together with one another "as good neighbours" is one of the means by which the ends of the United Nations are to be achieved,

Recalling the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, approved by its resolution 2625 of 24 October 1970,

Considering that the great changes of a political, economic and social nature, as well as the scientific and technological advances that have taken place in the world and led to unprecedented interdependence of nations, have given new dimensions to good-neighbourliness in the conduct of States and increased the need to develop and strengthen it,

Bearing in mind that good-neighbourliness should continue to be taken into account by United Nations bodies in their efforts to promote and strengthen the rule of law,

1. Reaffirming that, by acting as good neighbours, States can help to ensure that the ends for which United Nations was established are achieved;

2. Emphasizes that States should act as good neighbours whether or not they are contiguous;

3. Calls upon all States to keep in mind the need to act as good neighbours both in their dealings with other States and when taking decisions that could affect them;

4. Expresses the conviction that good-neighbourliness is best fostered by each State respecting the rule of law in its international relations , and by practical measures designated to promote good relations with other States;

5. Decides that the question of development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States should continue to guide States as a goal to be pursued in their consideration of the issues before the United Nations, and notes that it could be considered in the future.

RESOLUTION 46/112

Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child

Date: 17 December 1991 Adopted without a vote

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989, by which the Assembly adopted the Convention of the Child,

Reaffirming that the rights of children require special protection and call for continuous improvement of the situation of children all over the world, as well as for their development and education in conditions of peace and security,

Profoundly concerned the situation of children in many parts of the world remains critical as a result of inadequate social and economic conditions, natural disasters, armed conflicts, exploitation. illiteracy, hunger and disability, and convinced that urgent and effective national and international action is called for,

Mindful of the important role of the United Nations Children's Fund and of the United Nations in promoting the well-being of children and their development,

Convinced that the Convention on the Rights of the Child, as a standard-setting accomplishment of the United Nations in the field of human rights, makes a positive contribution to protecting the rights of children and ensuring their well-being,

Bearing in mind the successful conclusion of the World Summit for Children,...and stressing the necessity to ensure follow-up to the Summit at the national and international levels,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General of the status of the Convention on the Rights of the Child;

2. Welcomes with deep satisfaction the entry into force of the Convention on 2 September 1990 as a major step in international efforts to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

3. Expresses its satisfaction at the number of States that have signed, ratified or acceded to the Convention since it was opened for signature, ratification and accession on 26 January 1990

4. Calls upon all States that have not done so to sign, ratify or accede to the Convention as a matter of priority;...

6. Emphasizes the importance of the strictest compliance by States parties with their obligations under the Convention;...

8. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure the provision of appropriate staffs and facilities so that the functions of the Committee on the Rights of the Child may be carried out effectively;...

10. Decides to take appropriate action on the recommendations of the Committee of the Rights of the Child at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly,...;

12. Also requests the Secretary-General to consider favourably the possibility of enabling a working group of the whole of the Committee to meet in 1992;

13. Invites United Nations bodies and organizations, as well as intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, to intensify their efforts with a view to disseminating information on the Convention and promoting its understanding;

14. Further Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session a report on the status of the Convention on the Rights of the Child;

15. Decides to consider the report of the Secretary-General at its forty-seventh session under the item "Human rights question".

RESOLUTION 46/134

Situation of the human rights in Iraq

Date: 17 December 1991 Vote: 129–1–17

The General Assembly,

Guided by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the International Covenants on Human Rights,

Reaffirming that all Member States have an obligation to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to fulfil the obligations they have undertaken under the various international instruments in this field,

Mindful that Iraq is a party to the International Covenants on Human Rights,

Recalling Security Council resolution 688 of April 1991, in which the Council demanded and end to the repression of the Iraqi civilian population and insisted that Iraq cooperate with humanitarian organizations and ensure that the human and political rights of all Iraqi citizens are respected,

Recalling also the pertinent resolutions of the Commission on Human Rights and the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which expressed grave concern at the flagrant violations of human rights by the Government of Iraq,

Recalling in particular Commission on Human Rights resolution 1991/74 of 6 March 1991 by which the commission requested its Chairman to appoint a Special Rapporteur to make a thorough study of the violations of human rights by the Government of Iraq, based on all information the Special Rapporteur many deem relevant, including information provided by intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and any comments and material provided by the Government of Iraq, and to submit an interim report thereon to the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session and a report to the Commission at its forty-eight session,

Deeply concerned by the volume and extent of allegations of human rights violations by the Government of Iraq, such as arbitrary arrests and detentions, enforced or involuntary disappearances, torture, inhuman of degrading practices, extrajudicial killings, summary or arbitrary executions, hostage-taking and use of persons as "human shields", lack of freedom of expression and of an independent judiciary,

Noting the Special Rapporteur's view that these allegations are each day increasing and necessitate considerable and detailed examination

Deeply concerned by the repressive measures taken by the Government of Iraq against the Shiah communities in the south of Iraq,

Concerned especially by the alleged use of excessive force by the Government of Iraq against Iraqi civilians, in particular the Kurds and the Shi'ites,

1. Takes note with appreciation of the interim report of the Special Rapporteur and the considerations and the observations contained therein;

2. Expresses its deep concern about the numerous and detailed allegations of grave human rights violations by the government of Iraq to which the Special Rapporteur has referred in his report, in particular

a) Arbitrary detention, including women, children and the elderly, as well as the systematic practice of torture and other cruel, inhuman of degrading practices, and of enforced or involuntary disappearances as apart of a general structured programme of repression aimed at quelling opposition;

b) Extrajudicial killings, including political killings and summary or arbitrary executions throughout the country, particularly in northern Kurdish autonomous region, in southern Shiah centres and in the southern marshes;

c) Hostage-taking and the use of persons as "human shields", a most grave and blatant violation of Iraq's obligations under international law;

3. Calls upon the Government of Iraq to release all persons arrested and detained without ever being informed on charges against them. and without access to legal counsel or due process of law;

4. Calls furthermore upon the Government of Iraq, as a State party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to abide by its obligations under this Covenant and under other international instruments on human rights, and particularly to respect and ensure these rights to all individuals irrespective of their origin within its territory and subject of jurisdiction, including Kurds and Shi'ites;

5. Regrets the failure of the Government of Iraq to provide satisfactory replies to all the allegations of violations of human rights, and calls upon the Government to reply quickly in a comprehensive and detailed manner to these allegations so as to enable the Special Rapporteur to form an accurate assessment as a basis for his recommendations to the Commission on Human Rights;

6. Urges, therefore, the Government of Iraq accord its full cooperation to the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights during his forthcoming visit to Iraq to investigate the allegations of violations of human rights;

7. Requests that the Secretary-General to give all necessary assistance to the Special Rapporteur of the Commission to fulfill his mandate;

8. Decides to continue the examination of the situation of human rights in Iraq during its forty-seventh session under the item entitled "Human rights questions", in the light of additional elements provided by the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council.

RESOLUTION 46/210

Economic measures as a means of political and economic coercion against developing countries

Date: 20 December 1991 Vote: 97–30–9 Recorded

The General Assembly,

Recalling the relevant principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations,...

Reaffirming article 32 of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which declares that no state may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights,

Bearing in mind the general principles governing international trade and trade policies for development contained in the relevant resolutions and rules of the United Nations Conference of Trade and Development and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade,...

Gravely concerned that the use of coercive economic measures adversely affects the economy and development efforts of developing countries and creates a general negative impact on international economic cooperation and on the world-wide effort of move towards a non-discriminatory, open, trading system,...

Concerned that the mandate provided in paragraph 6 of resolution 44/215 has not been fully implemented,

1. Calls upon the international community to adopt urgent and effective measures to

eliminate the use by some developed countries of unilateral economic coercive measures against developing countries with the purpose of exerting, directly or indirectly, coercion on the sovereign decisions of the countries subject to those measures;

2. Deplores the fact that some developed countries continue to apply economic measures and, in some cases, have increased their scope and magnitude, as evidenced by trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes, freezing of assets and other economic sanctions incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations;

3. Calls upon developed countries to refrain from making use of their predominant position in the international economy to exercise political or economic coercion through the application of economic instruments with the purpose of infusing changes in the economic, political, commercial and social policies of other countries;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to pursue fully his mandate as contained in paragraph 6 of Assembly resolution 44/215...;

5. Also requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session on the implementation of the present resolution.

Voting records chart

COUNTRY	RESOLUTION 46/10	 46/29	 46/34	 46/134	 46/210
Afghanistan	Y	Y	Y	Y	–
Albania	Y	Y	A	Y	A
Algeria	Y	Y	Y	–	Y
Angola	Y	–	–	Y	Y
Antigua and Barbuda	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Argentina	Y	Y	A	Y	A
Armenia+					
Australia	Y	Y	A	Y	N
Austria	A	Y	A	Y	N
Azerbaijan+					
Bahamas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bahrain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bangladesh	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Barbados	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Belarus	Y	Y	A	Y	A
Belgium	A	Y	A	Y	N
Belize	Y	–	Y	Y	–
Benin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bhutan	Y	Y	Y	Y	–
Bolivia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Botswana	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brazil	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brunei Darussalam	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Bulgaria	A	Y	A	Y	N
Burkina Faso	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burundi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cambodia	Y	–	–	Y	–
Cameroon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Canada	Y	Y	A	Y	N
Cape Verde	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Central African Republic	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chad	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chile	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
China	Y	A	Y	A	Y
Colombia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Comoros	Y	–	Y	Y	–
Congo	Y	Y	Y	–	Y
Costa Rica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cote d'Ivoire	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Cuba	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Cyprus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Czechoslovakia	A	Y	A	Y	N
Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea	Y	Y	Y	–	–

+ countries that joined the U.N. after the 46th General Assembly session
*intended to vote in favor

Denmark	A	Y	A	Y	N
Djibouti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dominica	Y	Y	A*	Y	–
Dominican Republic	–	Y	Y	Y	–
Ecuador	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Egypt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
El Salvador	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Equatorial Guinea	–	–	–	–	–
Estonia	Y	Y	A	Y	N
Ethiopia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Federal States of Micronesia	Y	A	A	–	Y
Fiji	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
Finland	Y	Y	A	Y	N
France	A	N	A	Y	N
Gabon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gambia	Y	Y	Y	Y	–
Germany	A	Y	A	Y	N
Ghana	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Greece	Y	Y	A	Y	A
Grenada	Y	–	–	Y	–
Guatemala	Y	–*	–*	Y	Y
Guinea	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Guinea-Bissau	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Guyana	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Haiti	Y	–	Y	Y	–
Honduras	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hungary	A	Y	A	Y	N
Iceland	Y	Y	A	Y	N
India	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Indonesia	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Iran	Y	–*	Y	Y	Y
Iraq	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Ireland	A	Y	A	Y	N
Israel	A	A	N	Y	N
Italy	A	Y	A	Y	N
Jamaica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Japan	A	Y	A	Y	N
Jordan	–	Y	Y	–	Y
Kazakhstan+					
Kenya	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kuwait	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kyrgyzstan+					
Lao Peoples Democratic Republic	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Latvia	–	Y	A	Y	N
Lebanon	Y	Y	Y	–	Y
Lesotho	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Liberia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Libya	Y	Y	Y	–	Y
Liechtenstein	A	Y	A	Y	N

+ countries that joined the U.N. after the 46th General Assembly session
*intended to vote in favor

Lithuania	Y	Y	A	Y	N
Luxembourg	A	Y	A	Y	N
Madagascar	Y	Y	Y	–	Y
Malawi	Y	Y	–	Y	–
Malaysia	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Maldives	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mali	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Malta	Y	Y	A	Y	–
Marshall Islands	–	Y	A	Y	–
Mauritania	Y	Y	Y	–	Y
Mauritius	Y	Y	Y	Y	–
Mexico	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Moldova+					
Mongolia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Morocco	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Mozambique	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Myanmar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Namibia	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Nepal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Netherlands	A	Y	A	Y	N
New Zealand	Y	Y	A	Y	N
Nicaragua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Niger	.*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nigeria	Y	Y	Y	A	–
Norway	Y	Y	A	Y	N
Oman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pakistan	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Panama	A*	Y	Y	Y	A
Papua New Guinea	Y	Y	A	–	–
Paraguay	Y	Y	A	Y	–
Peru	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Philippines	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Poland	A	Y	A	Y	N
Portugal	A	Y	A	Y	N
Qatar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Republic of Korea	Y	Y	A	Y	A
Romania	A	Y	A	Y	–
Russian Federation#	Y	Y	A	Y	A
Rwanda	Y	–	–	Y	–
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Y	.*	.*	Y	–
Saint Lucia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y*
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Y	Y	Y	Y	–
Samoa	Y	Y	A	Y	Y
San Marino+					
Sao Tome and Principe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Saudi Arabia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

#The USSR was succeeded by the Russian Federation in the United Nations after the 46th General Assembly session and assumed responsibility for the USSR's vote in the United Nations.

+ countries that joined the U.N. after the 46th General Assembly session

*intended to vote in favor

Senegal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Seychelles	Y	Y	Y	Y	–
Sierra Leone	Y	–	–	Y	–
Singapore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Solomon Islands	Y	Y	A	–	Y
Somalia	Y	Y	Y	–	Y
South Africa					
Spain	A	Y	A	Y	A
Sri Lanka	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Sudan	Y	Y	Y	–	–
Suriname	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Swaziland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sweden	A	Y	A	Y	N
Syria	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tajikistan+					
Thailand	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Togo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Trinidad and Tobago	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tunisia	Y	Y	Y	–	Y
Turkey	Y	Y	A	Y	N
Turkmenistan+					
Uganda	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Ukraine	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
United Arab Emirates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
United Kingdom	A	A	A	Y	N
United Republic of Tanzania	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
United States	A	N	A	Y	N
Uruguay	Y	Y	A	Y	–
Uzbekistan+					
Vanuatu	Y	Y	Y	Y	–
Venezuela	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Viet Nam	Y	Y	Y	–	Y
Yemen	Y	Y	Y	–	Y
Yugoslavia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zaire	Y	Y	Y	–	–
Zambia	–	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zimbabwe	Y	Y	Y	A	Y

+ countries that joined the U.N. after the 46th General Assembly session
*intended to vote in favor

Annotated bibliography

Conflict Resolution

■ *Multi-Regional Conflict*

Day, Arthur R. and Doyle, Michael W. *Escalation and Intervention: Multilateral Security and Its Alternatives* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd. and Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986), 181p.

Doyle and Day assess the success and failures of multilateral diplomacy and intervention by critically analyzing several diverse cases of negotiation and intervention.

Kegley, Charles W. Jr. and Raymond, Gregory A., eds. *When Trust Breaks Down: Alliance Norms and World Politics* (Colombia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press), 337p.

This book examines what happens if and when trust in alliance commitments between sovereign states breaks down and the impact of such affiliations on the stability of the international system.

Luard, Evan. *Conflict and Peace in the Modern International System: A Study of Principles in International Order*, 2nd Edition (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988), 318p.

A theoretical introduction to international relations with particular emphasis on armed conflict and the maintenance of law and order in the global community.

Montville, Joseph V. *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multi-ethnic Societies* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990), 558p.

This extremely thorough examination of ethnic conflict, including its political psychology, compiles enough information to serve as a handbook. It includes the history and vocabulary of ethnic conflict, case studies of several <i>hot <t>conflicts and further thought as to what lessons these examples provide.

Rikhye, Indar Jit and Skjelsbaek, Kjell, eds. *The United Nations and Peacekeeping: Results, Limitations and Prospects: The Lessons of Forty Years of Experience.* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 200p.

A compilation of essays by professionals with first-hand experience in peacekeeping which briefly evaluates the historical experiences of peace-keeping and critically analyzes its present potentials and problems. Covers all aspects of peace-keeping including its management, finance, support, limitations, future, and impartiality.

United Nations. *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peace-Keeping* (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1985), 350p.

The history of both peace-keeping operations and observer missions, chapter Six and a half of the UN Charter, are presented here in great detail. The volume contains extensive data concerning each employment of troops and maps.

■ *Terrorism*

Clutterbuck, Richard. *Terrorism and Guerilla Warfare Forecasts.* (London: Routledge, 1990), 235p.

Examines current trends and predicts futures of many different types of terrorism including guerilla, technological, nuclear, urban and narcoterrorism. An effort is made to make technological jargon comprehensible to the novice.

Leventhal, Paul and Alexander, Yonah, eds. *Preventing Nuclear Terrorism* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1987), 472p.

This is the published report of the International Task Force on Prevention of Nuclear Terrorism. It explores the future possibility of the use of nuclear weapons by terrorists and the methods of preventing such activity.

Merkl, Peter H., ed. *Political Violence and Terror: Motifs and Motivations* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), 380p.

An in-depth study of the motivations behind *individual terrorists and insurgents throughout the world.*

Szumski, Bonnie, ed. *Terrorism: Opposing Viewpoints* (St. Paul, MN: Greenhaven Press, 1986), 240p.

A reader of opposing viewpoints on such issues as the IRA, American involvement with the Contras, terrorism and its relationship with the mass media and U.S. retaliation against states that support terrorism.

■ *Africa*

Briand, Michael. *Dialogue in Williamsburg: The Turning Point for South Africa* (Lanham, MD: Kampmann National Book Network, 1989), 165p.

This record of dialogue from an assembly of twenty-seven representatives of South Africa is supplemented by commentary from the mediator and author. This meeting in Williamsburg exemplifies peaceful collaboration and lays the foundation for possible solutions.

Chazan, Naomi. *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa* (Houndmills, England: Macmillan, 1988), 459p.

An introduction to Africa which describes the various historical, political, social, economic and international forces since independence and their effect on the continent's political choices.

Onwuka, Ralph I. and Shaw, Timothy M. *Africa in World Politics: Into the 1990s* (Houndsmill, England: Macmillan, 1989), 240p.

This analysis of African international relations includes material on foreign military intervention, Africa's economics, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity and more.

Rotberg, Robert I. *Africa in the 1990s and Beyond* (Algonac, Michigan: Reference Publications, 1988), 309p.

This book is the collection of relatively short essays on various topics and their prospects for their futures. The essays may be read separately.

■ *Asia*

Becker, Elizabeth. *When the War was Over: The Voices of Cambodia's Revolution and its People* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), 502p.

An exhaustive yet fast-paced narrative of the strife in Cambodia (Kampuchea) since the Vietnam war. This volume represents one of the <i>rst looks at the inner workings of the Khmer Rouge and is written in the form of a narrative and often in the voice of witnesses.

International Peace Academy. *Security in South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific: Challenges of the 1990s* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1989), 225p.

This report on security issues in the Pacific Rim makes an effort to promote mediation and negotiation in the pursuit of peace and security. In order to better identify viable possibilities for the 1990s, strategic, socio-economic and domestic dimensions are considered.

Scalapino, Robert A.; Seizaburo, Sato; Wanandi, Jusuf and Han, Sung-Joo. *Asia and the Major Powers: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, 1988), 386p.

Through an examination of specific cases, an abundance of data and analysis is used to explain the relationship between the two different topics which are presented independently of each other.

■ *Latin America*

Atkins, G. Pope. *Latin America in the International Political System* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), 421p.

This volume introduces the views of various <i>actors <t>(both state and non-state). The political patterns and institutions resulting from their interaction are analyzed, stressing the fundamentals of politics in order to make the work comprehensible to the general reader.

Calvert, Peter. *The Central America Security System: North-South or East-West?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 208p.

The focus of this book is on crisis-prevention regimes and crisis control techniques. By integrating theory and examples, Calvert creates a work in which the parts are not to be read separately.

Child, Jack. *Regional Cooperation for Development and the Peaceful Settlements of Dispute in Latin America* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nyjaft Publishers, 1987), 158p.

Provides information on a workshop held in Lima, Peru concerning the resolution of Latin American conflicts. It has a primarily South American focus which also considers hemispheric and specifically Central American problems as well.

Schuman, Ronald L. *The Inter-American Dilemma: The Search for Inter-American Cooperation at the Centennial of the Inter-American System* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 210p.

Schuman assesses the inter-American system in order to determine what does and does not succeed and to learn from its merits and shortcomings. He includes a chapter on the OAS and the U.N.

Silva-Michelena, Jose, ed. *Latin America: Peace, Democratization and Economic Crisis* (London: Zed Books, Limited, 1988), 207p.

Latin America specialists analyze the world economic crisis <t>impact on peace and security in the region. the relevance of the UN to Latin America and information on other institutional frameworks is disclosed.

Middle East

Ben-Dor, Gabriel and Dewitt, David B. eds. *Conflict Management in the Middle East* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1987), 323p.

This work examines the way in which conflicts are handled not only conceptually, but also through case studies and an analysis of opportunities and limitations in the future.

Braun, Aurel. *The Middle East in Global Strategy* (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1987), 274p.

Braun places key regional issues in the context of global strategic concerns. It provides insights into the interests of involved parties and the overall management of regional conflicts and includes a section on the Persian Gulf.

Freedman, Robert O. *The Middle East After the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 363p.

The case studies in this work provide a multidimensional view of Middle Easicipants involved since the invasion of 1982. Local and regional politics as well as the effects of extra-regional forces are considered. the effects of extra-regional forces are considered.

Friedman, Thomas L. *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 541p.

A correspondent from the New York Times describes his experiences in both of these volatile cities and the transition between the two in this well-written, fast-paced narrative which also includes the necessary historical perspective.

Arms control

Disarmament

Adams, Valerie. *Chemical Warfare, Chemical Disarmament* (Houndsmill, England: Macmillan, 1989), 276p.

A thorough history of and forecasts for both chemical and biological weapons are presented in this work with a vast amount of informative data.

George, James L. *The New Nuclear Rules: Strategy and Arms Control after INF and START* (London: Printer Publishers, 1990), 194p.

This book provides vital statistics as well as a wealth of information concerning nuclear strategy, arms control and the future of nuclear weapons.

United Nations. *Status of Multilateral Arms Regulation and Disarmament Agreements*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(New York: United Nations)

Annual publication which includes location and date of entering into force, depository body text of disarmament agreements.

Nuclear Weapons

Gertcher, Frank L. and Weida, William J. *Beyond Deterrence: The Political Economics of Nuclear Weapons* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), 362p.

This clear presentation of nuclear weapons thoroughly covers the significant issues. Among other things, it includes information on proliferation and the incentives for weapon production, and provides a worldwide inventory of arms and production capability.

Guertner, Gary L. *Deterrence and Defense in a Post-Nuclear War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 177p.

This work deals with security in a post-nuclear world by concentrating on American and Soviet strategies and obstacles to deterrence and war.

Dotto, Lydia. Planet *Earth in Jeopardy: Environmental Consequences of Nuclear War* (Chichester, England: John Wiley and Sons, 1986), 134p.

This work is based on a technical two volume monograph, but is written in such a way as to benefit the lay reader. The abbreviation and simplification does not, however, lesson the work's value.

Weapons in Outer Space

Bulkeley, Rip and Spinardi, Graham. *Space Weapons: Deterrence or Delusion?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), 378p.

This account and evaluation of space weapons and the issues they involve is written in a manner comprehensible to the student.

Jasani, Bhupendra. *Space Weapons and International Security* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 366p.

This detailed presentation of space weapons and related questions includes a valuable chapter on the international dimensions of space weapons.

United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. *Disarmament: Problems Related to Outer Space* (New York: United Nations, 1987), 190p.

A report by UNIDIR on the growing development of space weapons and strategies that the U.N. is using in its attempt to limit their use.

Zuckerman, Lord. *Star Wars in a Nuclear World* (London: William Kimber, 1986), 226p.

This book combines information about the nuclear arms race and Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

International economics

Global Economy

Bradshaw, Thorton F.; Burton, Daniel F. Jr.; Cooper, Richard N.; Hormats, Robert D., eds. *America's New Competitors: The Challenge of the Newly Industrializing Countries* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1988), 290p.

An examination of the challenges posed by NICs in the international economy which includes in-depth profiles of the countries involved concentrating on the issues most relevant to them. Possible effects and responses on behalf of the United States are also considered.

Cooper, Richard N. *Can Nations Agree?: Issues in International Economic Cooperation* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1989), 303p.

One of the essays included in this work is devoted to problems in international cooperation and the Bonn Summit of 1978, widely considered the most recent example of international economic cooperation.

Dell, Sidney Samuel. *The U.N. and International Business* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 191p.

This monograph gives an historical account of some of the major activities of the U.N. that have influenced international business and has been reputed as the most complete record of its kind.

Omal, Kenichi. *The Borderless World: Power and Strategy in the Inter-linked Economy* (Harper Collins Publishers, 1990), 223p.

> *Omal deals with all facets of international business. The work describes the strategy and organization of international companies, the government's role in such an economy and the future of the inter-linked economy*

■ Third World Development

Gauhar, Altaf. *Third World Affairs* (London: Third World Foundation for Social and Economics Studies)

> *This journal is published every December and discusses significant issues to be faced by Third World nations in the upcoming year as well as reviewing those of the past year.*

Griffin, Keith. *World Hunger and the World Economy: And Other Essays in Development Economics* (Houndsmill, England: Macmillan, 1987), 274p.

> *The ten essays in this book deal with various vital topics in development economics. Essay topics include problems concerning aid, the debt crisis and the poor.*

United Nations. *World Development Report* (New York: United Nations)

> *Each edition of this annual publication focuses on a key development issue and includes the World Development Indicators — mons of charts, tables and maps giving economic and social profiles of 128 countries — and dozens of charts, tables and maps.*

■ Money, Finance and Debt

Dornbusch, Rudiger; Makin, John H.; Zlowe, David, eds. *Alternative Solutions to Developing Country Debt Problems* (Washington, D.C.: The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1989), 127p.

> *This volume is a presentation of approaches to the debt crisis which are then critically evaluated. An update on crucial issues facing both public and private sector lenders and borrowers is incorporated.*

Kahler, Miles. *The Politics of International Debt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Pres, 1986), 272p.

> *This interdisciplinary study of the world's <i>financial crisis <t>examines the different political facets of the debt crisis.*

O'Cleireacain, Seamus. *Third World Debt and International Public Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 244p.

> *O'Cleireacain wrote this especially for students and links trade, aid and debt in his explanation of public policy concerning debt negotiation.*

Global resources

■ Resource Management

Andersen, Steinar and Ostrong, Willy. *International Resource Management: The Role of Science and Politics* (London: Belhaven Press, 1989), 301p.

> *The authors devote the entire first section to Science and International Regimes, considering science's role in political decision-making.*

Coombs, H. C. *The Return of Scarcity: Strategies for an Economic Future* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 171p.

> *A compilation of essays which attempts to identify the origin and nature of problems which arise from the relationship between ecological and economic concerns.*

Repetto, Robert. *World Enough and Time Successful Strategies for Resource Management* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 147p.

> *Much of this work reports the findings of the Global Possible Conference which met to explore the practical steps that would lead to successful management of the pressure created by the world's resources, environment and population.*

Welch, Susan and Miewald, Robert. *Scarce Natural Resources: The Challenge to Public Policymaking* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), 288p.

> *The authors concern themselves with the basic resources of energy, water and food-growing land and the more general aspects of policy-making in the realm of these natural resources.*

Food and Population Issues

Dr_ze, Jean and Amartya, Sen. *Hunger and Public Opinion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 373p.

> *The primary focus is on action and not assessment in this thorough study which includes information on farming, undernutrition and deprivation.*

Johnson, Stanley P. *World Population and the U.N.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 357p.

> *A description of the United Nations <t>forty years of experience with questions of population with particular emphasis on the period since 1969.*

The Hunger Project. *Ending Hunger: An Idea Whose Time Has Come* (New York: Praeger, 1985), 430p.

> *An essential and extensive overview of the basic facts of world hunger as they pertain to population, food, foreign aid, national security and the New International Economic Order.*

Roberts, Godfrey, ed. *Population Policy: Contemporary Issues* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 216p.

> *A variety of views are presented in this examination of population policies, their effectiveness, the role of international organizations, and the legal and ethical questions involved.*

Simon, Julian L. *Population Matters; People, Resources, Environment and Immigration* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 577p.

> *An in-depth study of the effects of population on the standard of living with special attention to raw materials and the environment.*

Warnock, John W. *The Politics of Hunger: The Global Food System* (Toronto: Methuen, 1987), 334p.

> *By discussing different regions and their conditions the author arrives at some alternatives to the solution of the paradox posed by the existence of hunger and poverty in a world of plenty.*

Energy Resources

Kramer, John M. *The Energy Gap in Eastern Europe* (Lexington, MA: Lexington books, 1990), 200p.

> *An examination of how and at what costs Eastern Europe has narrowed its energy gap.*

Munasinghe, Mohan. *Energy Analysis and Policy: Selected Works* (London: Butterworths, 1990), 315p.

> *A compilation of 14 papers on energy economics and policy. The chapters cover energy economics in developing countries, energy strategies for oil-importing developing countries and energy demand, management and conservation.*

Soussain, John. *Primary Resources and Energy in the Third World* (London: Routledge, 1988), 114p.

> *This work deals with development as it is related to minerals, energy and survival in the Third World.*

Protection of the Environment

Commoner, Barry. *Making Peace with the Planet* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 292p.

> *The author proposes ways in which further casualties may be prevented in environmental battles such as the trash crises and the redesigning of the technosphere.*

Grainger, Alan. *The Threatening Desert: Controlling Desertification* (London: Earthscan Publications Limited, 1990). 369p.

> *Both successful and unsuccessful strategies to end this destructive process are cited in this comprehensive treatment of the causes and scale of desertification.*

United Nations Environment Programme. *Register of International Treaties and Other Agreements in the Field of the Environment* (Nairobi: United Nations, 1989)

> *A list of all international agreements on the environment.*

Trudgill, Stephen. *Barriers to a Better Environment: What Stops Us Solving Environmental Problems?* (London: Belhaven Press, 1990), 151p.

The aim of this book is to explain the failure to solve environmental problems.

Vezeroglu, T. Nejat. *Environmental Problems and Solutions: Greenhouse Effect, Acid Rain, Pollution* (New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, 1990), 525p.

Problems with the most immediate need for solutions such as oil spills, engine emissions and radioactive pollutants are dealt with in this book.

■ *Law of the Sea*

Degenhardt, Henry W. *Maritime Affairs — A World Handbook* (Essex, England: Longman Group, Ltd., 1985), 412p.

A reference guide to Maritime organizations, conventions, disputes and international politics of the sea. Includes a chapter on the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

Lodgaard, Sverre. *Naval Arms Control* (London: Sage Publications, 1990) 264p.

An examination of a range of approaches and options for confidence building and arms restraint at sea. Concentrates on naval issues in East-West context with special emphasis on waters of Northern Europe and the High North.

Sanger, Clyde. *Ordering the Oceans: The Making of the Law at Sea* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 225p.

An historical and technical perspective of international laws in respect to the sovereign rights of bodies of water that suggest some propositions towards reaching agreement in complex bargaining.

Singh, Gurdys. U.N. *Convention on the Law of the Sea* (Delhi, India: Academic Publications, 1985) 271p.

Contains a discussion of the conflict resolution mechanisms available to the international community as dictated by general international law, also an analysis and evaluation of the dispute settlement mechanisms of the Law of the Sea Convention.

Social and Humanitarian Issues

■ *Refugees*

Carlin, James L. *The Refugee Connection: A Lifetime Running a Lifeline* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, England: Macmillan, 1989), 208p.

A comprehensive reviews of the refugee's role in history since World War II and an account of humanitarian efforts on behalf of governments, voluntary agencies and individuals. Includes the personal narratives of several individuals.

Loescher, Gil and Monahan, Leila. *Refugees and International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 430p.

This volume examines the failure exhibited in resolving refugee situations and explores ways in which the current crisis might be overcome. It focuses on the formation of public policy affecting international responses to the refugee problem.

Tucker, Robert W., Keely, Charles B., and Wrigley, Linda. *Immigration and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), 229p.

The history, present status and future of immigration and foreign policy.

■ *Human Rights*

Amnesty International. *Amnesty International Report* (London: Amnesty International, 1976-)

Over view of human rights violations and country-by-country description of Amnesty's human rights concerns.

Burgers, J. Herman and Danelius, Hans. *The United Nations Convention Against Torture* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1988), 271p.

Provides a historical survey of the background of the genesis of the Convention and an analysis of its content. The Convention itself is also printed within the text.

Kuper, Leo. *The Prevention of Genocide* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 286p.

Kuper suggests strategies to be employed *within the U.N. system as part of their campaign against genocide and rates the organization's performance thus far.*

United Nations Division of Human Rights. *Bulletin of Human Rights* (New York: United Nations, 1968_)

A quarterly review in English, Spanish, French and Russian providing vital articles and statistics on current human rights concerns.

■ *Status of Women*

Agrawal, Sushila. *Status of Women* (Jaipen, India: Printwell Publishers, 1988), 119p.

The changing status of women in India and Canada is discussed from the conceptual, constitutional and legal, socio-economic and educational aspects.

Fernea, Elizabeth Warnock, ed. *Women and Family in the Middle East: New Voices of Change* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1985), 356p.

A collection of documents, essays, stories, life histories poems and reports which reveal the rapid and dramatic social changes occurring in the Middle East.

Klein, Renate D. and Steinberg, Deborah Lynn. *Radical Voices: A Decade of Feminist Resistance from Women's Studies International Forum* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989), 244p.

This history of ideas within women's studies chronicles the birth and development of the women's liberation movement.

Morgin, Robin, ed. *Sisterhood is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press, 1984), 815p.

A collection of essays concerning the women's movement from seventy countries and the United Nations with a brief background prefacing each.

Rhoodie, Eschel M. *Discrimination Against Women: A Global Survey of the Economic, Educational, Social and Political Status of Women* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1989).

This thorough survey provides important facts and figures about the women's liberation movement worldwide.

General Interest

Fahey, Joseph and Armstrong, Richard A. *Peace Reader: Essential Readings on War, Justice, Non-Violence and World Order* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 477p.

An excellent collection of classic essays on the subjects of military conflict, human rights and the maintenance of order and peace.

Fromuth, Peter, ed. *A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988), 385p.

In the first half of the book a panel assesses the U.N.'s performance to date and makes recommendations for improvements. Supporting essays by members of the panel follow.

Gromyko, Anatoly and Hellman, Martin. *Breakthrough: Emerging New Thinking: Soviet and Western Scholars Issue a Challenge to Build a World Beyond War* (New York: Walker and Co., 1988), 281p.

A precedent-setting juxtaposition of scholars at politically polar opposites which covers the nuclear imperative, global thinking beyond war (the book is published by the Beyond War Foundation), and the process of change.

Henkin, Louis. *Right v. Might: International Law and the Use of Force* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1989), 124p.

These fast-paced essays deal with the question of whether or not international law permits the use of military force to promote democracy and human rights.

Kegley, Charles W. Jr. and Wittkopf, Eugene R. *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), 281p.

The classic textbook on international politics and global relationships. Economic, political, strategic and ecological implications of the growing global independence are explored.

McGhee, George C. *Diplomacy for the Future* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1987) 108p.

This short but valuable work examines present limitations to effective diplomacy

and prospects for the future.

Nyiri, Nicolas. *The United Nations — Search for a Definition of Aggression* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 410p.

Offers a critical analysis of the U.N.'s search for a definition of aggression and suggests the matter be reopened under a Commission of Inquiry, thereby taking the first step towards solving problems created by aggression.

Paenson, Isaac. *Manual of the Terminology of the Law of Armed Conflicts of International Humanitarian Organizations* (London: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989), 844p.

Each term is defined in the context of a chapter explaining a principle of armed conflicts. The volume is published in English, French, Spanish and Russian.

Tessitore, John and Woolfson, Susan, eds. *Issues Before the General Assembly of the UN* (New York: United Nations Association of the USA).

This annual publication presents the issues faced by the respective session of the general assembly with pertinent background and history.

United Nations. *A Diplomat's Handbook of International Law and Practice* (New York: United Nations), 606p.

Current developments and practices of states, including judicial decisions in a variety of fields of topical interest. Also includes current issues of interest in diplomatic relations.

Urquhart, Brian and Childers, Erskine. *A World in Need of Leadership: Tomorrow's United Nations* (Uppsala, Sweden: Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1990), 40p.

This short book summarizes a study of leadership in the UN system and makes recommendations concerning the future. It is supplemented by a statistical annex on UN leadership posts.

Walden, George. *Ethics and Foreign Policy* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), 176p.

Confronts the ethical dilemmas of foreign policy faced by Western democracies.

World Affairs Journal (Los Angeles: Los Angeles World Affairs Council).

A quarterly publication of articles about current political issues.

Maynes, Charles Williams, ed. *Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).

A valuable quarterly publication of important issues of foreign policy.

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Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice

Introductory note

The Charter of the United Nations was signed on 26 June 1945, in San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, and came into force on 24 October 1945. The Statute of the International Court of Justice is an integral part of the Charter.

Amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter were adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 1963 and came into force on 31 August 1965. A further amendment to Article 61 was adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1971, and came into force on 24 September 1973. An amendment to Article 109, adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1965, came into force on 12 June 1968.

The amendment to Article 23 enlarges the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen. The amended Article 27 provides that decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members (formerly seven) and on all other matters by an affirmative vote of nine members (formerly seven), including the concurring votes of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The amendment to Article 61, which entered into force on 31 August 1965, enlarged the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven. The subsequent amendment to that Article, which entered into force on 24 September 1973, further increased the membership of the Council from twenty-seven to fifty-four.

The amendment to Article 109, which relates to the first paragraph of that

Article, provides that a General Conference of Member States for the purpose of reviewing the Charter may be held at a date and place fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any nine members (formerly seven) of the Security Council. Paragraph 3 of Article 109, which deals with the consideration of a possible review conference during the tenth regular session of the General Assembly, has been retained in its original form in its reference to a "vote, of any seven members of the Security Council", the paragraph having been acted upon in 1955 by the General Assembly, at its tenth regular session, and by the Security Council.

Charter of the United Nations

We the Peoples of the United Nations Determined

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind,

and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

And For These Ends

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

Have Resolved to Combine our Efforts to Accomplish These Aims

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

CHAPTER 1:

Purposes and Principles

Article 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression, or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an eco-

nomic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II
Membership

Article 3

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

CHAPTER III
Organs

Article 7

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

CHAPTER IV
The General Assembly

Composition

Article 9

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.

2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

Functions and Powers

Article 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or both on any such questions or matters.

Article 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.

2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article 12

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall similarly notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate

studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

a. promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging progressive development of international law and its codification;

b. promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2. The further responsibilities, functions and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

Article 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

Article 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

Article 17

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.

2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

Voting

Article 18

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1(c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Article 19

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

Procedure

Article 20

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

Article 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

Article 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

CHAPTER V
The Security Council

Composition

Article 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

Functions and Powers

Article 24

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.

3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

Article 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the

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United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

Voting

Article 27

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 or Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Procedure

Article 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.

2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.

3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

Article 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Article 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

Article 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

Article 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

CHAPTER VI

Pacific Settlement of Disputes

Article 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the na-

ture referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

CHAPTER VII

Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression

Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

Article 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees.

Article 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

CHAPTER VIII

Regional Arrangements

Article 52

1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement or local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

Article 53

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of the Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

2. The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state

which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

Article 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER IX
International Economic and Social Co-Operation

Article 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Article 56

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 57

1. The various specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

Article 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

Article 59

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

CHAPTER X
The Economic and Social Council Composition

Article 61

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of fifty-four Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from twenty-seven to fifty-four members, in addition to the members elected in place of the nine members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, twenty-seven additional members shall be elected. Of these twenty-seven additional members, the term of office shall expire at the end of one year, and of nine other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

Functions and Powers

Article 62

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

Article 63

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.

2. It may co-ordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

Article 64

1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

Article 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

Article 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.

3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Voting

Article 67

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

Article 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in the economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

Article 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

Article 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

Article 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Members of the United Nations concerned.

Article 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

CHAPTER XI

Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories

Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection from abuses;

b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

c. to further international peace and security;

d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with the specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect to the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

CHAPTER XII

International Trusteeship System

Article 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed there-under by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

a. to further international peace and security;

b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;

c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the people of the world; and

d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

Article 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

a. territories now held under mandate;

b. territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and

c. territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Article 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

Article 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

Article 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Article 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Charter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of the Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

Article 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

Article 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

Article 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

Article 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

CHAPTER XIII

The Trusteeship Council

Composition

Article 86

1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:

a. those Members administering trust territories;

b. such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and

c. as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

Functions and Powers

Article 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

a. consider reports submitted by the administering authority;

b. accept petitions and examine them in

consultation with the administering authority;

c. provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and

d. take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

Article 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

Voting

Article 89

1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

Article 90

1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

CHAPTER XIV

The International Court of Justice

Article 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

Article 93

1. All Members of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 94

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgement rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

Article 95

Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

Article 96

1. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court

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of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

CHAPTER XV
The Secretariat

Article 97

The Secretariat shall comprise of a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

Article 98

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

Article 99

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 100

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 101

1. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs shall form a part of the Secretariat.

3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

CHAPTER XVI
Miscellaneous Provisions

Article 102

1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with paragraph 1 of the Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

Article 103

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.

Article 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of its purposes.

Article 105

1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes.

2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connexion with the Organization.

3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article or may propose conventions to the Members of the United Nations for this purpose.

CHAPTER XVII

Transitional Security Arrangements

Article 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enables it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, 30 October 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Article 107

Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

CHAPTER XVIII

Amendments

Article 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Article 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any nine members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

CHAPTER XIX
Ratification and Signature

Article 110

1. The present Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization when he has been appointed.

3. The present Charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.

4. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original Members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

Article 111

The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish texts area equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatory states.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the representatives of the Governments of the United Nations have signed the present Charter.

DONE at the City of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty five.

Statute of the International Court of Justice

Article I

The International Court of Justice established by the Charter of the United Nations as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations shall be constituted and shall function in accordance with the provisions of the present Statute.

CHAPTER I
Organization of the Court

Article 2

The Court shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law.

Article 3

1. The Court shall consist of fifteen members, no two of whom may be nationals of the same state.

2. A person who for the purposes of membership in the Court could be regarded as a national of more than one state shall be deemed to be a national of the one in which he ordinarily exercises civil and political rights.

Article 4

1. The members of the Court shall be elected by the General Assembly and by the Security Council from a list of persons nominated by the national groups in the Permanent

Court of Arbitration, in accordance with the following provisions.

2. In the case of Members of the United Nations not represented in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, candidates shall be nominated by national groups appointed for this purpose by their governments under the same conditions as those prescribed for members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration by Article 44 of the Convention of The Hague of 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

3. The conditions under which a state which is a party to the present Statute but is not a Member of the United Nations may participate in electing the members of the Court shall, in the absence of a special agreement, be laid down by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5

1. At least three months before the date of the election, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a written request to the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration belonging to the states which are parties to the present Statute, and to the members of the national groups appointed under Article 4, paragraph 2, inviting them to undertake, within a given time, by national groups, the nomination of persons in a position to accept the duties of a member of the Court.

2. No group may nominate more than four persons, not more than two of whom shall be of their own nationality. In no case may the number of candidates nominated by a group be more than double the number of seats to be filled.

Article 6

Before making these nominations, each national group is recommended to consult its highest court of justice, its legal faculties and schools of law, and its national academies and national sections of international academies devoted to the study of law.

Article 7

1. The Secretary-General shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all the persons thus nominated. Save as provided in Article 12, paragraph 2, these shall be the only persons eligible.

2. The Secretary-General shall submit this list to the General Assembly and to the Security Council.

Article 8

The General Assembly and the Security Council shall proceed independently of one another to elect the members of the Court.

Article 9

At every election, the electors shall bear in mind, not only that the persons to be elected should individually possess the qualifications required, but also that in the body as a whole the representation of the main forms of civilization and of the principal legal systems of the world should be assured.

Article 10

1. Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly and in the Security Council shall be considered as elected.

2. Any vote of the Security Council, whether for the election of judges or for the appointment of members of the conference envisaged in Article 12, shall be taken without any distinction between permanent and nonpermanent members of the Security Council.

3. In the event of more than one national of the same state obtaining an absolute majority of the votes both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the eldest of these only shall be considered as elected.

Article 11

If, after the first meeting held for the purpose of election, one or more seats remain to be filled, a second and, if necessary, a third meeting shall take place.

Article 12

1. If, after the third meeting, one or more

seats still remain unfilled, a joint conference consisting of six members, three appointed by the General Assembly and three by the Security Council, may be formed at any time at the request of either the General Assembly or the Security Council, for the purpose of choosing by the vote of an absolute majority one name for each seat still vacant, to submit to the General Assembly and the Security Council for their respective acceptance.

2. If the joint conference is unanimously agreed upon any person who fulfills the required conditions, he may be included in its list, even though he was not included in the list of nominations referred to in Article 7.

3. If the joint conference is satisfied that it will not be successful in procuring an election, those members of the Court who have already been elected shall, within a period to be fixed by the Security Council, proceed to fill the vacant seats by selection from among those candidates who have obtained votes either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council.

4. In the event of an equality of votes among the judges, the eldest judge shall have a casting vote.

Article 13

1. The members of the Court shall be elected for nine years and may be re-elected; provided, however, that of the judges elected at the first election, the terms of five judges shall expire at the end of three years and the terms of five more judges shall expire at the end of six years.

2. The judges whose terms are to expire at the end of the above-mentioned initial periods of three and six years shall be chosen by lot to be drawn by the Secretary-General immediately after the first election has been completed.

3. The members of the Court shall continue to discharge their duties until their places have been filled. Though replaced, they shall finish any cases which they may have begun.

4. In the case of the resignation of a member of the Court, the resignation shall be addressed to the President of the Court for transmission to the Secretary-General. This last notification makes the place vacant.

Article 14

Vacancies shall be filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election, subject to the following provision: the Secretary-General shall within one month of the occurrence of the vacancy, proceed to issue the invitations provided for in Article 5, and the date of the election shall be fixed by the Security Council.

Article 15

A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose term of office has not expired shall hold office for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

Article 16

1. No member of the Court may exercise any political or administrative function, or engage in any other occupation of a professional nature.

2. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 17

1. No member of the Court may act as an agent, counsel, or advocate in any case.

2. No member may participate in the decision of any case in which he has previously taken part as agent counsel, or advocate for one of the parties, or as a member of a national or international court, or of a commission of enquiry, or in any other capacity.

3. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 18

1. No member of the Court can be dismissed unless, in the unanimous opinion of the other members, he has ceased to fulfill the required conditions.

2. Formal notification thereof shall be made to the Secretary-General by the Regis-

trar.

3. This notification makes the place vacant.

Article 19

The members of the Court, when engaged on the business of the Court, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Article 20

Every member of the Court shall before taking up his duties, make a solemn declaration in open court that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously.

Article 21

1. The Court shall elect its President and Vice-President for three years; they may be reelected.

2. The Court shall appoint its Registrar and may provide for the appointment of such other officers as may be necessary.

Article 22

1. The seat of the Court shall be established at The Hague. This, however, shall not prevent the Court from sitting and exercising its functions elsewhere whenever the Court considers it desirable.

2. The President and the Registrar shall reside at the seat of the Court.

Article 23

1. The Court shall remain permanently in session, except during the judicial vacations, the dates and duration of which shall be fixed by the Court.

2. Members of the Court are entitled to periodic leave, the dates and duration of which shall be fixed by the Court, having in mind the distance between The Hague and the home of each judge.

3. Members of the Court shall be bound, unless they are on leave or prevented from attending by illness or other serious reasons dully explained to the President, to hold themselves permanently at the disposal of the Court.

Article 24

1. If, for some special reason a member of the Court considers that he should not take part in the decision of a particular case, he shall so inform the President.

2. If the President considers that for some special reason one of the members of the Court should not sit in a particular case, he shall give him notice accordingly.

3. If in any such case the member of the Court and the President disagree, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 25

1. The full Court shall sit except when it is expressly provided otherwise in the present Statute.

2. Subject to the condition that the number of judges available to constitute the Court is not thereby reduced below eleven, the Rules of the Court may provide for allowing one or more judges, according to circumstances and in rotation, to be dispensed from sitting.

3. A quorum of nine judges shall suffice to constitute the Court.

Article 26

1. The Court may from time to time form one or more chambers, composed of three or more judges as the Court may determine, for dealing with particular categories of cases; for example, labor cases and cases relating to transit and communications.

2. The Court may at any time form a chamber for dealing with a particular case. The number of judges to constitute such a chamber shall be determined by the Court with the approval of the parties.

3. Cases shall be heard and determined by the chambers provided for in this article if the parties so request.

Article 27

A judgement given by any of the chambers provided for in Articles 26 and 29 shall be considered as rendered by the Court.

Article 28

The chambers provided for in Articles 26 and 29 may, with the consent of the parties, sit and exercise their function elsewhere than at The Hague.

Article 29

With a view to the speedy dispatch of business, the Court shall form annually a chamber composed of five judges which, at the request of the parties, may hear and determine cases by summary procedure. In addition, two judges shall be selected for the purpose of replacing judges who find it impossible to sit.

Article 30

1. The Court shall frame rules for carrying out its functions. In particular, it shall lay down rules of procedure.

2. The Rules of the Court may provide for assessors to sit with the Court or with any of its chambers, without the right to vote.

Article 31

1. Judges of the nationality of each of the parties shall retain their right to sit in the case before the Court

2. If the Court includes upon the Bench a judge of the nationality of one of the parties, any other party may choose a person to sit as judge. Such person shall be chosen preferably from among those persons who have been nominated as candidates as provided in Articles 4 and 5.

3. If the Court includes upon the Bench no judge of the nationality of the parties, each of these parties may proceed to choose a judge as provided in paragraph 2 of this Article.

4. The provisions of this Article shall apply to the case of Articles 26 and 29. In such cases, the President shall request one or, if necessary, two of the members of the Court forming the chamber to give place to the members of the Court of the nationality of the parties concerned, and failing such, or if they are unable to be present to the judges specially chosen by the parties.

5. Should there be several parties in the same interest, they shall, for the purpose of the preceding provisions, be reckoned as one party only. Any doubt upon this point shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

6. Judges chosen as laid down in paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 of this Article shall fulfill the conditions required by Articles 2, 17 (paragraph 2), 20 and 24 of the present Statute. They shall take part in the decision on terms of complete equality with their colleagues.

Article 32

1. Each member of the Court shall receive an annual salary.

2. The President shall receive a special annual allowance.

3. The Vice-President shall receive a special allowance for every day on which he acts as President.

4. The judges chosen under Article 31, other than members of the Court, shall receive compensation for each day on which they exercise their functions.

5. These salaries, allowances, and compensation shall be fixed by the General Assembly. They may not be decreased during the term of office.

6. The salary of the Registrar shall be fixed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the Court.

7. Regulations made by the General Assembly shall fix the conditions under which retirement pensions may be given to members of the Court and to the Registrar, and the conditions under which members of the Court and the Registrar shall have their traveling expenses refunded.

8. The above salaries, allowances, and compensation shall be free of all taxation.

Article 33

The expenses of the Court shall be borne by the United Nations in such a manner as shall be decided by the General Assembly.

CHAPTER II

Competence of the Court

Article 34

1. Only states may be parties in cases before the Court.

2. The Court, subject to and in conformity with its Rules, may request of public international organizations information relevant to cases before it, and shall receive such information presented by such organizations on their own initiative.

3. Whenever the construction of the constituent instrument of a public international organization or of an international convention adopted thereunder is in question in a case before the Court, the Registrar shall so notify the public international organization concerned and shall communicate to it copies of all the written proceedings.

Article 35

1. The Court shall be open to the states parties to the present Statute.

2. The conditions under which the Court shall be open to other states shall, subject to the special provision contained in treaties in force, be laid down by the Security Council, but in no case shall such conditions place the parties in a position of inequality before the Court.

3. When a state which is not a Member of the United Nations is a party to a case, the Court shall fix the amount which that party is to contribute towards the expenses of the Court. This provision shall not apply if such a state is bearing a share of the expenses of the Court.

Article 36

1. The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

2. The states parties to the present Statute may at any time declare that they recognize as compulsory ipso facto and without special agreement, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning:

a. the interpretation of a treaty;

b. any question of international law;

c. the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;

d. the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation;

3. The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain states, or for a certain time.

4. Such declarations shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall transmit copies thereof to the parties to the Statute and to the Registrar of the Court.

5. Declarations made under Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and which are still in force shall be deemed, as between the parties to the present Statute, to be acceptances of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for the period which they still have to run and in accordance with their terms.

6. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 37

Whenever a treaty or convention in force provides for reference of a matter to a tribunal to have been instituted by the League of Nations, or to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the matter shall, as between the parties to the present Statute, be referred to the International Court of Justice.

Article 38

1. The Court, whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes are submitted to it, shall apply:

a. international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;

b. international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;

c. the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;

d. subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

2. This provision shall not prejudice the power of the Court to decide a case ex aequo et bono, if the parties agree thereto.

CHAPTER III
Procedure

Article 39

1. The official languages of the Court shall be French and English. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in French, the judgment shall be delivered in French. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in English, the judgement shall be delivered in English.

2. In the absence of an agreement as to which language shall be employed, each party may, in the pleadings, use the language which it prefers; the decision of the Court shall be given in French and English. In this case the Court shall at the same time determine which of the two texts shall be considered as authoritative.

3. The Court shall, at the request of any party authorize a language other than French or English to be used by that party.

Article 40

1. Cases are brought before the Court, as the case may be, either by the notification of the special agreement or by a written application addressed to the Registrar. In either case the subject of the dispute and the parties shall be indicated.

2. The Registrar shall forthwith communicate the application to all concerned.

3. He shall also notify the Members of the United Nations through the Secretary-General, and also any other states entitled to appear before the Court.

Article 41

1. The Court shall have the power to indicate, if it considers that circumstances so require, any provisional measures which ought to be taken to preserve the respective rights of either party.

2. Pending the final decision, notice of the measures suggested shall forthwith be given to the parties and to the Security Council.

Article 42

1. The parties shall be represented by agents.

2. They may have the assistance of counsel or advocates before the Court.

3. The agents, counsel, and advocates of parties before the Court shall enjoy the privileges and immunities necessary to the independent exercise of their duties.

Article 43

1. The procedure shall consist of two parts: written and oral.

2. The written proceedings shall consist of the communication to the Court and to the parties of memorials, counter-memorials and, if necessary, replies; also all papers and documents in support.

3. These communications shall be made through the Registrar, in the order and within the time fixed by the Court.

4. A certified copy of every document produced by one party shall be communicated to the other party.

5. The oral proceedings shall consist of the hearing by the Court of witnesses, experts, agents, counsel, and advocates.

Article 44

1. For the service of all notices upon persons other than the agents, counsel, and advocates, the Court shall apply direct to the government of the state upon whose territory the notice has to be served.

2. The same provision shall apply whenever steps are to be taken to procure evidence on the spot.

Article 45

The hearing shall be under the control of the President or, if he is unable to preside, of the Vice-President; if neither is able to preside, the senior judge present shall preside.

Article 46

The hearing in the Court shall be public, unless the Court shall decide otherwise, or unless the parties demand that the public be not admitted.

Article 47

1. Minutes shall be made at each hearing and signed by the Registrar and the President.
2. These minutes alone shall be authentic.

Article 48

The Court shall make orders for the conduct of the case, shall decide the form and time in which each party must conclude its arguments, and make all arrangements connected with the taking of evidence.

Article 49

The Court may, even before the hearing begins, call upon the agents to produce any document or to supply any explanations. Formal note shall be taken of any refusal.

Article 50

The Court may, at any time, entrust any individual, body, bureau, commission, or other organization that it may select, with the task of carrying out an enquiry or giving an expert opinion.

Article 51

During the hearing any relevant questions are to be put to the witnesses and experts under the conditions laid down by the Court in the rules of procedure referred to in Article 30.

Article 52

After the Court has received the proofs and evidence within the time specified for the purpose, it may refuse to accept any further oral or written evidence that one party may desire to present unless the other side consents.

Article 53

1. Whenever one of the parties does not appear before the Court, or fails to defend its case, the other party may call upon the Court to decide in favour of its claim.
2. The Court must, before doing so, satisfy itself, not only that it has jurisdiction in accordance with Articles 36 and 37, but also that the claim is well founded in fact and law.

Article 54

1. When, subject to the control of the Court, the agents, counsel, and advocates have completed their presentation of the case, the President shall declare the hearing closed.
2. The Court shall withdraw to consider the judgement.
3. The deliberations of the Court shall take place in private and remain secret.

Article 55

1. All questions shall be decided by a majority of the judges present.
2. In the event of an equality of votes, the President, or the Judge who acts in his place, shall have a casting vote..

Article 56

If the judgement does not represent in whole or in part the unanimous opinion of the judges, any judge shall be entitled to deliver a separate opinion.

Article 57

1. The judgement shall be signed by the President and by the Registrar.
2. It shall be read in open court, due notice having been given to the agents.

Article 58

The judgement shall be signed by the President and by the Registrar. It shall be read in open court, due notice having been given to the agents.

Article 59

The decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case.

Article 60

The judgement is final and without appeal. In the event of dispute as to the meaning or scope of the judgement, the Court shall construe it upon request of any party.

Article 61

1. An application for revision of a judgement may be made only when it is based upon the discovery of some fact of such a nature as to be a decisive factor, which fact was, when the judgement was given, unknown to the Court and also to the party claiming revision, always provided that such ignorance was not due to negligence.

2. The proceedings for revision shall be opened by a judgement of the Court expressly recording the existence of the new fact, recognizing that it has such a character as to lay the case open to revision, and declaring the application admissible on this ground.

3. The Court may require previous compliance with the terms of the judgement before it admits proceedings in revision.

4. The application for revision must be made at latest within six months of the discovery of the new fact.

5. No application for revision may be made after the lapse of ten years from the date of the judgement.

Article 62

1. Should a state consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit a request to the Court to be permitted to intervene.

2. It shall be for the Court to decide upon this request.

Article 63

1. Whenever the construction of a convention to which states other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the Registrar shall notify all such states forthwith.

2. Every state so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the judgement will be equally binding upon it.

Article 64

Unless otherwise decided by the Court, each party shall bear its own costs.

CHAPTER IV

Advisory Opinions

Article 65

1. The Court may give an advisory opinion on any legal question at the request of whatever body may be authorized by or in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations to make such a request.

2. Questions upon which the advisory opinion of the Court is asked shall be laid before the Court by means of a written request containing an exact statement of the question upon which an opinion is required, and accompanied by all documents likely to throw light upon the question.

Article 66

1. The Registrar shall forthwith give notice of the request for an advisory opinion to all states entitled to appear before the Court.

2. The Registrar shall also, by means of a special and direct communication, notify any state entitled to appear before the Court or international organization considered by the Court, or, should it not be sitting, by the President, as likely to be able to furnish information on the question, that the Court will be prepared to receive, within a time limit to be fixed by the President, written statements, or to hear, at a public sitting to be held for the purpose, oral statements relating to the question.

3. Should any such state entitled to appear before the Court have failed to receive the special communication referred to in paragraph

2 of this Article, such state may express a desire to submit a written statement or to be heard; and the Court will decide.

4. States and organizations having presented written or oral statements or both shall be permitted to comment on the statements made by other states or organizations in the form, to the extent, and within the time limits which the Court, or, should it not be sitting, the President, shall decide in each particular case. Accordingly, the registrar shall in due time communicate any such written statements to states or organizations having submitted similar statements.

Article 67

The Court shall deliver advisory opinions in open court, notice having been given to the Secretary-General and to the representatives of Members of the United Nations, of other states and of international organizations immediately concerned.

Article 68

In the exercise of its advisory functions the Court shall further be guided by the provisions of the present Statute which apply in contentious cases to the extent to which it recognizes them to be applicable.

CHAPTER V

Amendment

Article 69

Amendments to the present Statute shall be effected by the same procedure as is provided by the Charter of the United Nations for amendments to that Charter, subject however to any provisions which the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council may adopt concerning the participation of states which are parties to the present Statute but are not Members of the United Nations.

Article 70

The Court shall have the power to propose such amendments to the present Statute as it may deem necessary, through written communications to the Secretary-General, for consideration in conformity with the provisions of Article 69.

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